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TO OUR READERS:

In compliance with the Israeli military authorities, and under the guise of the much criticized "Emergency Regulations" of 1945, Al-Fajr is required to submit all material prepared for publication in this weekly, and also in the Arabic Daily and Bi-Weekly Hebrew Edition, to the Israeli censorship authorities, who use this blanket authority excessively. The material appearing on pages labeled with letters has all been censored and expunged by the Israeli authorities. We found it necessary and relevant to publish it on these pages in the foreign edition.

ISRAEL CONFIRMED THE BIG WINNER

US Secretary of State George Shultz left the Middle East May 8, leaving behind him a delicate agreement 'in principle' between Israel and Lebanon, linking Israeli troop withdrawal to military and political demands from its invasion of Lebanon. Syria outright rejected the agreement which makes Israeli withdrawal conditional on Syria evacuating its deterrent forces. The bilateral agreement, which is purported to legislate the limits of a Palestinian presence in Lebanon was also condemned by the PLO.

The carefully drafted 16-page agreement, the product of a two-week shuttle has not been published but leaks to the press say it includes:

* Simultaneous withdrawal of Israeli, Syrian, and Palestinian forces from Lebanese territory;

* The termination of the state of war between Lebanon and Israel;

* A guarantee that Israel can undertake acts of self-defence.

* The start of negotiations on normalisation of relations within six months of signing the agreement;

* Recognition of the existing border as "inviolable";

* Mutual respect for each others' sovereignty, political independence and territorial integrity;

* No troops of countries which don't have relations with Israel will be permitted in Lebanon;

* No armed personnel of organisations whose *raison d'etre* is to attack other countries will be stationed in Lebanon;

* No propaganda hostile to either country;

* A joint US-Lebanese-Israeli commission will supervise implementation and adjudicate disputes;

* Negotiations on a trade agreement will take place within six months until then, "existing arrangements ' will prevail;

* Only limited forces will be allowed south of the Awali River, where joint US-Lebanese-Israeli patrols will maintain order;

* In a zone 15 kilometres from the Israeli border a "territorial unit" dominated by forces of separatist militia leader Saad Haddad will hold sway;

* Haddad will be promoted to deputy commander of the "territorial brigade";

* UNIFIL will patrol Palestinian camps near Sidon and Tyre.

These details came from the US and Israeli media, "presumably leaked" according to one official source, "and quite selectively." Arab media added that a secret appendix, banning any Palestinian political, cultural, or civilian activity, is also attached to the agreement. According to other Arab sources the Lebanese government is obliged to give these new accords political precedence over other agreements. Lebanon, as a result, is prohibited from undertaking any treaty with any power against Israel.

Although the agreements are yet to be ratified by the respective governments, Israel and the US expressed some satisfaction that they were signed. "The Reagan administration, whose Middle East policy was at stake showed itself able," *The New York Times* said. May 8, to win diplomatic concessions from Israel and the Arab states. The Shultz agreement has also maintained a key supervisory role for the US administration. US sources noted.

The biggest winner from the agreement appeared to be

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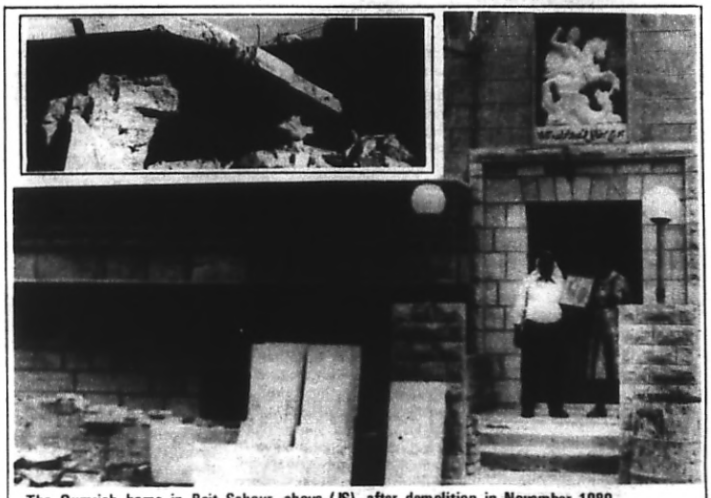

The Qumsieh home in Beit Sahour, above (JS), after demolition in November 1980 Below, George Michael Qumsieh and his wife in front of their new house completed this week/JN

Settler Killed in Gaza

A settler from Netivot was shot dead in the Zeitun district of Gaza City, May 10.

Menachem Dadoun, 24, was shopping in the central market of Gaza when he stopped to talk to a shopkeeper at 4:00 pm and an unidentified person shot him in the head. He died immediately.

Dozens of military vehicles immediately entered the area and imposed a siege. Scores were arrested from the vicinity of the attack. A curfew was imposed on a one square kilometre area.

After the incident, shopkeepers closed their shops and ran, eywitnesses told *Al Fajr*. Those unable to leave locked themselves in their shops. Soldiers erected barriers and prevented entry to the quarter.

On May 11, the area remained closed. A police spokesman in Gaza told *Al Fajr* that the attacker had not been arrested. He said many arrests had been made but would not reveal exact numbers. Two months ago a settler was killed in the same area.

Settlers demonstrated in the Netivot settlement at 6:00 pm, May 10. Settlers from Beit Hageidi, near Gaza, visited them and issued a call for revenge.

Israel Edges Toward Beqa'a War

With the concluding of the US-mediated agreement between Israel and Lebanon, May 6, tensions along the ceasefire lines in the Beqa'a valley sharply increased. The situation was further inflamed by verbal threats from senior Israeli and Syrian military and political figures and a military build-up on both sides.

Lebanese military sources reported, May 10, that Syrian positions in the Beqa'a valley shelled the Israelis that day. Lebanese radio reports said at least six shells fell on Israeli positions. France-based Radio Monte Carlo also reported that Syrian anti-aircraft batteries fired several rounds at an Israeli war plane which circled Syrian positions.

The Palestinian news agency, WAFA, reported, May 10, that the Israeli army is constructing their fourth military airport; this one in the Beqa'a. The agency's report said that seven Israeli bulldozers were seen levelling hills. The Israeli army is also reported to have established a radar station in the area.

In its English-language news broadcast, May 10, Moscow Radio reported that in the previous two days the Israelis had doubled the number of its troops in Lebanon. Quoting sources in the Lebanese capital it said that residents in the Amiq area had been restricted to their village and that heavy equipment had been transported to the front lines.

US State Department of-

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ISRAELIS DRAW UP SELECTIVE LIST

'Approved' Lawyers May Visit Ansar Prisoners

The Israeli authorities have decided to allow specified lawyers to visit the 6000 prisoners of war the Israeli army is holding in Ansar camp, South Lebanon. The announcement was made in Supreme Court, May 11, while deliberating appeals to see Ansar prisoners by four teams of Israeli lawyers. The court did not reach a decision on pleas that lawyers be allowed access to clients and that the state of Israel define the status of those it holds in Lebanon. It did not set a date for the next hearing.

The court is sitting on four appeals: one for 17 prisoners represented by Lea Tsemel, Walid Fahoum and Mohammad Na'amneh, five women prisoners represented by the same team, one prisoner represented by Avigdor Feldman and three represented by Felicia Langer. When the state attorney got up to answer their arguments he said lawyers qualified to represent soldiers in military courts will be allowed in to Ansar. This list is selective. There are no Palestinians on it and some lawyers — notably Tsemel and Langer have been excluded from it. One source close to the defence team described the state's announcement as "a victory, not a very big one, but a victory nevertheless."

In written submissions the military's lawyer said Ansar prisoners should remain unrepresented. He argued that Israeli law does not apply in Lebanon and therefore lawyers should not be allowed in; that there would be a security danger if Israeli lawyers were travelling regularly back and forth from Ansar; that there were no facilities for lawyers to see clients in the prison camp and that if word spread among the prisoners that some were being allowed to see lawyers riots would break out.

Lebanon 'Not Occupied'

The authorities' also assert that Lebanon is not occupied territory and that therefore military law does not apply. The state team, representing the minister of defence, termed everything that happens in Lebanon 'an act of state' which cannot be governed by any court, civil or military. They specifically ruled out the applicability of international law.

The defence teams said clients had to be represented in the review bodies Israel has set up. They meet every six months to determine whether a prisoner should still be detained. The lawyers also said human rights have to be protected and quoted international conventions and precedents from Israeli courts inside the 'green line' and the pre-'82 occupied territories.

The hearing was attended by observers from legal organisations in the United States and Europe. One of the observers told *Al Fajr* he thought the judges were somewhat concerned at the state's dismissal of the rights of the prisoners. He also expressed bemusement at some of the arguments. A source close to defence said after the hearing that while the decision to allow some lawyers in is positive, the court probably wouldn't reach a final decision "until the prisoners are either expelled or released."

The last official announcements said there were upwards of 6000 prisoners in Ansar. Most are known to be Palestinian and Lebanese, although other nationalities are represented. The prisoners have not seen lawyers since their detention. Red Cross officials have been allowed into the camp. They have made no announcement about conditions.

Syrians Hold Druze

It was also revealed in court that the Syrians are holding an Israeli Druze prisoner. In the specific answers as to the fate of the individuals named in the case the state said that a Lebanese Druze woman was being held for her part in the kidnapping of an Israeli Druze soldier. Leila Morad. the state of Israel alleged had contacted Syrian intelligence about her contacts with the soldier and eventually drugged him and took him over to Syrian-held territory. The soldier, named Yusuf Saruf, is being interrogated by Syrian intelligence, the court was told.

Druze–Phalangist Fighting Flares

More than 40 Lebanese were killed and 126 wounded in a week of heavy fighting between militias belonging to the mainly Druze Lebanese Progressive Socialist Party (PPS) and the Phalangists. At least eight Israeli soldiers were wounded in two separate attacks against their patrols.

Fighting between the Phalangists and PPS troops flared up again on May 6 after a few quiet months. The two sides traded artillery shells between Shouf mountain villages. Foreign correspondents in Lebanon said shells also fell on the Beirut port area, and near the Presidential Palace at Ba'abdeh The heaviest fighting was reported between the villages of Aitat and Souq al-Gharb, near the town of Aley. There were also reports of clashes near the villages of Kufr Shima and Chuaifat, southwest of Beirut.

Several Lebanese notables intervened at the end of the first day of fighting and arranged a short-lived ceasefire. On the same evening, however, Phalangist militiamen set up military road-blocks at the coastal highway between Beirut and Sidon and declared it a military zone. Israeli troops attempted to calm the situation by firing shells in the air, but the exercise was pointless.

According to a report in *The Jerusalem Post*, May 10 the Israeli army was unable to control the fighting. The paper said, "several Israeli soldiers were killed or wounded when they were caught in the crossfire." The fighting continued on and off for the rest of the week, but lessened in intensity.

In South Lebanon there were fierce demonstrations in Sidon, Tyre and Nabatiyeh, May 9, to protest the shooting of a Lebanese resident in a demonstration a day earlier at the village of Zefaf, nar Nabatiyeh. Reporters said the demonstrators set tyres alight and stoned Israeli soldiers.

Seven Israelis were wounded, May 9, when a remote-controlled bomb exploded under a military vehicle on the Beirut - Sidon road, 15 kilometers south of Beirut. An eighth soldier was wounded the next day when his patrol came under small arms fire near the town of Ain Zhalta, on the Israeli-Syrian frontlines.

The Lebanese National Resistance Front, which has claimed responsibility for several dozen operations against the Israeli army, is also believed to be responsible for the latest attacks.

THIS WEEK'S CENSORSHIP

Following is a breakdown of censorship cuts for issue 158, May 13, 1983:

Number of original articles submitted to censor	19
Number of articles totally censored out	3
Number of articles partially censored but used	1
Number of articles passed	15

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Israel-Lebanon Agreement

Israel. In the euphoric aftermath, the US promised to release an arms deal of 75 F-16 planes frozen several months ago. Shultz promised to reactivate the US-Israeli understanding and cooperation pact. An "authoritative source" told *The Jerusalem Post*, May 8, that 'if we are forced into a conflict with Syria, it is better that it happens with American understanding, than not.'

The main opponents of the US-mediated agreement soon emerged as the PLO and the Syrian government. In Damascus, the PLO leadership issued a communique condemning the accord as "dangerous to the Palestinian problem and to the situation in the Middle East." The communique, issued after a meeting of the PLO executive committee with the general secretaries of the different PLO factions, said that the agreement 'puts Lebanon under the US umbrella." Khalil Wazir, deputy commander of the Palestinian forces and member of the Fatah executive committee, told reporters that the PLO and Syria are coordinating their political moves, in regard to the accord.

Bassam Abu Sharif, member of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, told the *Agence France Presse* that he objects to the linking of the Israeli withdrawal from Lebanon with a Syrian and Palestinian pull-out. He explained that Palestinian and Syrian relations with Lebanon are an internal Arab matter, which can be discussed after Israel withdraws from Lebanon.

Yasir Abed Rabbo, member of the PLO executive committee, said the agreement is in contradiction with UN Security Council resolutions 508 and 509 which call for the unconditional withdrawal of the Israeli troops from Lebanon.

Syria immediately issued official announcements attacking the agreement as a "pure Israeli gain." The Syrian leadership rejected it outright. US Secretary of State Shultz told reporters after emerging from a four-hour public relations meeting with President Hafez al-Assad, May 7 that the Syrians were 'hardly enthusiastic" about the agreement. Syrian Foreign Minister Abd al-Halim Khaddam was quoted as saying that Syrian objection to the treaty stems from two major points: first that the treaty is being regarded as having supremacy over other treaties, thus cancelling Lebanon's obligations as a member of the Arab League; second, the agreement is a clear political triumph for Israel.

The Syrian government also rejected the Israeli threats to pull out to the 45 kilometre zone and warned that Israel is preparing for a campaign against Syria.

Soviet Ambassador to Lebanon Alexander Soldatov announced, following a meeting with Lebanon's President Amin Gemayel. May 10, that his government opposes equating the Syrian and Palestinian presence in Lebanon with that of the Israelis. He went on to say that an aggressor should not be allowed to impose demands for withdrawing its forces from a country it occupies.

The most enthusiastic Middle Eastern party was the Jordanian monarch. Since the announcement of agreement, the government-controlled media in Jordan have been calling it "an agreement for withdrawal of Israeli forces from Lebanon." Semi-official Jordanian commentators went so far as to lay responsibility for its success or failure on the Syrian government. Meanwhile, Foreign Minister Marwan al-Qasim told reporters that Jordan regards the accord as a positive development on the road to reaching a general settlement for the Middle East problem. He further said, "the withdrawal of foreign forces from Lebanon would have an impact on the general situation in the region." Al-Qasim, however, refrained from saying whether Jordan changed its stand or not with regard to participating in negotiations for settlement.

The Jordanian foreign minister paid a quick visit to Lebanon, May 10, where he met high ranking Lebanese officials, including President Amin Gemayel.

Iraq also voiced support for the "withdrawal of foreign forces from Lebanon." US Secretary of State George Shultz told reporters in Paris that Iraqi Foreign Minister Tariq Aziz conveyed this position to him. The two statesmen met in Paris on May 10 for "discussions on various issues."

Support for the agreement was also given in the official media of Egypt and Saudi Arabia. The Americans are looking to the Saudis to pressure the Syrian president into accepting the agreement.

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Israel-Syria

ficials confirmed, May 10, "that the Israeli army increased their military presence in Lebanon in recent days."

On the other hand, US officials charged that Syria and the PLO were adding to their forces in Lebanon. US officials estimated the number of Syrian troops in the Beqa'a valley to be around 50,000. They also said that more than 2000 Palestinian fighters have crossed from Syria to the Beqa'a in the previous few days. US TV network ABC put the number of Palestinian fighters currently in Lebanon at between 12 and 15,000. CIA sources had earlier said that 40 buses had carried more than 500 fighters across the Syrian border into Lebanon. In Washington a State Department spokesman announced that there have been some movements of Syrian troops into Lebanon, but that there are no signs that the Syrians are preparing to attack.

In Israel, war talk is at a peak. Defence Minister Moshe Arens has made official statements that "Syria is getting ready for another war with Israel." Israeli Chief of Staff Moshe Levy seconded the opinion stating that he sees the developments leading to an imminent confrontation with the Syrians, and not limited to the Beqa'a front. He also said that he expects operations against the Israeli army in South Lebanon to increase.

Nafez Abu Meizar in Makassed Hospital /JN

Yeshiva Students Club Palestinian

Nafez Abu Meizar, 20, was beaten up by settler-students of a yeshiva in the Old City of Jerusalem, May 5, for the second time in a month.

Abu Meizar, who works at the *Al Fajr* press, was on his way home from work at around midnight through Bab al-Hadid when the settlers ambushed him. He was clubbed by several men and suffered contusions and swelling on his neck, arms and legs.

"When I approached the Majlis gate," Abu Meizar told *Al Fajr*, "I saw some of my friends. They commented sarcastically that the settlers may attack me. One hundred metres away from them, three or four settlers, hidden on a street corner, attacked me with their clubs. The attack lasted for five minutes and the settlers fled when they heard somebody coming." Passersby took him to Makassed Hospital.

Zev Rotem, the Jerusalem district police spokesman, told *Al Fajr* that Abu Meizar had filed a complaint to the police, saying that he would identify the attackers if he saw them again. Rotem said that the police asked him to go with them through the Jewish quarters but he refused.

Abu Meizar denied the police claims. He said two policemen had asked, May 8, about the attack and said they would register a complaint after two days. "I was never asked to identify my attackers," he said.

When called again the police spokesman said, "If Abu Meizar changes his mind he can come to the police station and ask a police officer to accompany him in identifying the attackers."

This is the second time in one month that Abu Meizar was attacked by settlers. On April 2 he was beaten when he attempted to take Fatmeh Abu Mayaleh, 60, who had been attacked by settlers, to hospital. Then he was hospitalised for one week.

Abu Meizar had resumed his work at the press a day before the latest assault. He asserted that he was attacked by the settlers because the news of Fatmeh Abu Mayaleh and his testimony was reported in all Israeli newspapers. "The news items published in these newspapers also had my picture. I expected that the attack would be repeated because they know everything about my routine."

DHAHRIYA YOUTHS SENTENCED

The Israeli military court in Ramallah passed out heavy sentences on five youths from Dhahriya May 10, after convicting them of a variety of charges against Israeli security; the most serious the throwing of stones at Israeli vehicles, resulting, January 29, in the wounding, and death two weeks later, of an Israeli woman. The three-judge court sentenced Hayel Abu Allan, 21, Mohammad Badawi Jabarin, 20, and Hassan Makharzeh, 19, to 13 years imprisonment and Atif Wardat and Subhi Wardat, both 17, to 11 years.

Atif was arrested on February 2 and the others on February 6. The homes of the families of all five young men were sealed shut by military order, April 12, one month before the trial. All had pleaded not guilty.

The list of charges against the youths included the use of toy guns to intimidate armed Village League members and other Dhahriya residents who cooperate with the Israeli authorities, hoisting the Palestinian flag in central places, distributing anti-occupation leaflets, inciting students to demonstrate and erecting stone barriers on the main Beer Sheba - Dhahriya road.

Israel TV televised the trial aftermath and showed the dead woman's relatives beating up the guarded prisoners as they were led out of the courtroom.

JEC Denies Report of Concessions to Israeli Co.

Jerusalem Electric Company Chairman Anwar Nusseibeh denied, May 7, an Israel Radio report that the JEC had given the Israeli Electric Company (IEC) permission to extend power lines to Israeli settlements in the Arab company's jurisdiction.

The Israeli report, broadcast in Arabic, May 5, said that the Israeli minister of energy, Yitzhak Moda'i, and the JEC head met and signed an agreement about the concession. In an interview with *Al Fajr*, Nusseibeh, a former Jordanian defence minister, denied that the meeting had even taken place.

Nusseibeh said the radio report might be referring to the Israeli authorities' recent demand that the JEC install reception points (stations where the JEC receives electric power which they buy from the IEC) near two Israeli settlements in the West Bank. The two settlements are Mikhmash, northeast of Jerusalem, and the Radar Hill settlement, west of Jerusalem. He added that the Israelis did not want the two settlements to be affected by occasional local power failures. The two settlements are out-of-bounds to JEC employees. The company's meters are therefore installed outside the settlements, and all maintenance work inside is carried out by the Israelis themselves.

Nusseibeh reacted sharply to the Israeli report, calling it "grossly distorted." He explained that granting such a concession would be in direct violation of article 17 of the company's charter. This gives the JEC exclusive rights to supply electric power to all points within a specified area, located in the central West Bank.

One loophole which the Palestinian company officials say the Israeli authorities are trying to exploit is that the British High Commissioner (the occupying power at the time the company was established) has the authority to permit another company to run electric lines through the JEC's area of jurisdiction. This right, however, is on condition that the lines do not actually supply electric power to any place within the area.

The company head said that Israeli attempts to penetrate the Arab institutions' concession area date to even before 1979, when Nusseibeh took over the directorship from Bethlehem mayor Elias Freij. "They did not succeed, however, and we have been able to defend our rights," Nusseibeh concluded.

The JEC was established in 1930. In 1980, the company came under severe pressure from the Israeli government, which wanted to liquidate its assets, and incorporate it into the IEC. The strong resistance of workers and employees, and other Palestinian national institutions, compelled the Israeli authorities to shelve their plans.

AT NAJAH UNIVERSITY

CONFLICTS SPARK RESIGNATIONS

All major academic heads at al-Najah University, Nablus, resigned, May 8, one day after Islamic students and supporters from outside held a rally on campus in defiance of university regulations. The rally-makers had set out chairs taken from classrooms and erected a stage in overnight preparations for an all-day meeting, which preempted by three days a student council-planned festival for the religious holiday of *Isra wa Ma'raj* marking Mohammad's night flight from Mecca to Jerusalem.

The irregular event was protected by squads of students armed with clubs who posted themselves on the roofs of university buildings. The student body, most of whom were surprised by the early morning festivities and did not participate, evacuated the university to avoid clashes with the right-wing Muslim Brothers. The all-day activity was attended by over 1000 devotees, at least 500 of whom were outsiders, and included women in *hijab*, religious dress. Besides speeches, a short play was presented depicting the struggle of Islam over nationalism and Communism.

Acting president of the university Dr Sharif Kanana, along with seven of the nine deans met, May 8, and decided to resign collectively from their positions because "they were unable to keep order and to control the sectarian disputes," according to the al-Najah public relations director Sa'eb Arraqat. Three of the department chairmen, Kamal Hijah, Business, Suleiman Bashir, Research, and Bahjat Sabri, dean of Arts, opposed the resignations but went along with the majority.

The student council declared a strike immediately after the mass resignations and called on the academic heads to stay at their posts. The employees union of the university held continuous meetings over two days and called on the deans to withdraw their resignations. An employee union's statement, released May 9, denounced the resignations and demanded that the administration update the university regulations and impose penalties on what they termed the "saboteurs."

In their communique, the student council said it is their responsibility to sponsor festivals. They accused unnamed individuals in the university of cooperating with the Islamic organisers. The statement said: 'It is our right to ask: how did the saboteurs enter through the closed doors of the university? Where were the university guards? Where are its trustees?"'

Student council head Adnan Damiri told *Al Fajr* "Saboteurs entered the university at 3:30 am with the cooperation of the Islamic bloc and moved hundreds of chairs from the classrooms to the courtyard." A teacher, who asked not to be named, said that guards phoned Ghazi Kamal, administrative director of the university, "who told them to allow them in."

At the end of April, Nasr al-Din al-Sha'er, who was head of the Islamic bloc which was defeated at the last elections, applied to the student council to arrange an *Isra wa Ma'raj* festival. The student council told him it was their responsibility to supervise such activities and that they had started preparations for a celebration.

The chairman of the employees union at the university Sufian Sultan, called for an immediate meeting of the 31-member University Council. Sultan attributed the problems in the university to the absence of effective regulations.

In January 1982, 30 students and one teacher were hospitalised after fights between students and Islamic bloc supporters, backed with reinforcements from outside campus. From autumn 1981 to March 1982 the university was closed off and on for several weeks at a time because of clashes.

WHO, WHAT, HOW?

The World Health Organisation two-man team sent to the West Bank, last month, to investigate the causes of the outbreak of mass poisoning in the West Bank in March and April, reported to the WHO's annual conference in Geneva, May 11, that it was "unable to find any indication of a specific organic cause" for the outbreak.

Australian epidemiologist Dr Ian Carter and Italian toxicologist Dr Gaston Vettorrazi arrived April 3 and spent several days conducting medical tests and interviewing schoolgirls and others who were affected by abdominal pains, eye irritation and fainting. The WHO report, like a parallel US team's, reveals that no evidence of environmental toxins were found. The US team went on to speculate that the spread of symptoms was caused by anxiety.

Palestinian health experts point out that the teams began investigations 10 days after the intitial outbreak in Arrabeh village, time enough for environmental poisons to have dissipated and testing for chemicals in the blood to be inconclusive.

Qatana land, planted with olive trees, which was surveyed last week by Israeli land surveyors. The mukhtar of the village Mohammad Shamasneh, was told to forbid villagers from entering their land because of military manoeuvres The area is slated for settlement construction by the Israeli authorities /SF

Settlement Activity Intensifies

An escalation in settlement-related activity continued this week in the West Bank on three different fronts. Israeli occupation authorities continue to detain five Palestinians who confronted settler bulldozers in Bidya, plans for nine new settlements were announced in the Hebron area, and 1500 dunums in a Nablus area village were taken.

An Israeli military court in Tulkarm turned down a petition May 10, for the release of five residents of the village of Bidya, southwest of Nablus. The five were among a group of nine who were detained, May 2, while confronting settlers' bulldozers which were ploughing up their land. One man died and two others were wounded when border guards opened fire on the landowners.

The five, all from the Aqra' family, were remanded for 30 days for further interrogation. Four others three women and one elderly man were released on bail.

In a new development in the land controversy, *The Jerusalem Post* reported that the Nablus police served court injunctions, May 8, barring work by the Gal Construction Company on the disputed land. The injunctions, which were issued by the Nablus Magistrates Court on request of the landowners, bar the company from working the land until residents' complaints are heard. The owners say they were defrauded of their land-rights by Israeli land dealers.

The Jerusalem Post commented that this is the first time the police have enforced a West Bank order against Israeli settlers. Several injunctions have been issued previously but the police refused to serve them. In the Bidya case, court orders had been issued a fortnight before the shooting. They were ignored by the settlers.

In related news, Israel Radio announced that the Jewish Agency's settlement department is trying to coordinate the establishment of nine new settlements which are being constructed on both sides of the 'green line'. The radio said that four Nahal (military-agricultural settlements) outposts, Tene, Otniel, Adora and Eshkelot, are to be turned into civilian settlements. Two more settlements, Susiya and Yakin, which were drawn into the 1980 World Zionist Organisation Drobles plan, are also to be built. The remaining three settlements are to be made military outposts at least for the intitial stage.

Villagers in Aqrabeh, southeast of Nablus, had 1600 dunums of land grabbed for Tel Haim settlement. Aqrabeh lost more than 44,000 dunums in 1969.

American Institutes Blasted in Amman

The Middle East Educational and Training Services (better known as AMIDEAST) and the American Life Insurance Company offices in Amman, Jordan were destroyed in two separate explosions, May 9. The blasts which are said to have been caused by bombs, are the first attacks against American institutions in Jordan since 1970. Radio Monte Carlo said that a group calling itself the "Moab Jordanian Military Revolutionary Committee" claimed responsibility for the operation.

The first explosion occurred in the AMIDEAST office in Jabal al-Weibdeh at around 6:40 pm. Five minutes later, a second explosion wrecked the American Life Insurance Company offices in the centre of the Jordanian capital. An *Agence France Presse* reporter who visited the sites said that the AMIDEAST offices, which were located on the first floor of a two story building, were a pile of rubble.

Immediately after the blasts hundreds of policemen surrounded the areas to collect evidence. Policemen at the site said that there were no casualties. However, ambulances were seen heading towards the two offices. The Jordanian interior ministry issued a statement saying the two blasts caused minor damage and no casualties. The statement did not elaborate on the incident.

AMIDEAST is a private establishment operating in all Middle East countries. It provides assistance to students who seek undergraduate or graduate studies in the US. The institution which is funded by several establishments, including the US government, provides information and counselling assistance with each country's government.

ISRAELI TERROR GROUP EMERGES

A clandestine Israeli organisation calling itself *Irgun Hamagen* (Shield Organisation) claimed responsibility for at least three recent attacks against West Bank Palestinian residents and their property, Israel Radio disclosed May 5. The radio report said that the attacks were in revenge for stone-throwing by Palestinian youths.

The latest attacks by the Israeli terrorist group occurred May 4. Unidentified people tried to set fire to a number of cars in Halhoul, north of Hebron. Hijazi Madiyeh, deputy mayor of the town said the car owners prevented damage when they discovered flammable liquid under their vehicles. The tyre of one car burnt before the flames were blown out by the wind.

The Palestinian car owners complained to the Hebron police but so far they have not come to investigate.

The *Irgun Hamagen* claimed responsibility in a call to Israel Radio. The Israeli group is said to consist of settlers from Gush Etzion, near Bethlehem, and Kiryat Arba, near Hebron. The anonymous caller said the group is responsible for three attacks. The most serious was in February, when two Palestinian residents from Hebron were injured in a bomb blast at al-Qazzazin Mosque.

The caller said his group was also responsible for smashing the windshields of more than 22 cars in Beit Jala, April 29. The Israel Radio report disclosed that the military authorities were "fully aware of the existence of the group" and were "making investigations" into its activities and membership.

During the past two months, there were reports in the Israeli press of settlers' efforts to establish local vigilante groups to counter "stone-throwing incidents" against Israeli settlers. Settlers have repeatedly accused the military authorities of "inefficiency."

Israeli police officials revealed, May 6, that they have recently established two new forces in the occupied territories. The first, called "special forces", is a unit in the paramilitary border guards: its role was not specified. The second, a police unit called "The Force to Counter Road Accidents," will try to stop stone-throwing in the West Bank.

Hebron University Opened

Israeli authorities decided to reopen Hebron University, May 11, two months after closing it and the local Polytechnic Institute. Discussions are continuing over the possible reopening of the second institute.

Adib Qaisi, chairman of the Graduates Association Council, which administers the polytechnic, was summoned to the local military governorate at the end of April and notified of eight preconditions for its reopening. Qaisi told *Al Fajr* that they were unable to meet them all. Israeli authorities told institute lawyer Lea Tsemel later that two conditions were sufficient: that the polytechnic administration promise to maintain order, and that they set up a barbed wire fence around the building.

Mahmoud Qawasmeh, acting head of the polytechnic, told *Al Fajr* that six members of the Graduates Association Council will discuss the revised demand.

Israeli authorities summoned Mohammad Rashid Ja'abari, board chairman of Hebron University, May 9, and told him they had decided to allow the university to reopen.

Sharif Ja'abari, member of the board, told *Al Fajr* that the second semester, which was to end July 15 has now been extended to the end of September, losing the summer semester.

Members of the university faculty held a meeting on campus, May 10, and discussed how to compensate for the academic loss. Faculty chairman, Khulqi Khanfar, agreed to up study days by one per week. The Israelis imposed no conditions for the reopening of the university. Over 1600 students from all over the West Bank study Arabic and English language and literature and Islamic law at the university. The polytechnic has 400 students.

The two were closed, March 9 and 10, following a wave of demonstrations in the West Bank during the visit of ex-US President Jimmy Carter, and attacks on al-Aqsa Mosque in Jerusalem. During the same week, the authorities closed five secondary and preparatory schools in the Hebron area. They were reopened two weeks ago.

SUSPENSIONS FOLLOW STUDENT PROTEST AT NAJAH

The dean of al-Najah University, Nablus, suspended five students for one semester, May 7, after they had participated in a march on campus, March 8. Hundreds of students, including student council members, participated in the march, protesting academic punishments imposed on students for national activities. The students also demanded to know who was responsible for structural inadequacies in the university building and the theft of funds.

During the demonstration, students stopped at the office of Zuhair Qatawi, dean of student affairs, and chanted slogans against the dean. The chairman of the student council along with three members of the employees union pushed students away from the office.

The suspensions were issued after a recent meeting of al-Najah's administration. The students were not called to give evidence. Ten other students were sentenced to final third warnings, second warnings or forfeiture of six credits because they participated in a memorial festival for Saad Sayel, the PLO officer killed last October, and in another festival last December.

Commenting on the sentencing Sa'eb Araqat, the al-Najah relations director, told *Al Fajr* that the suspended students had attacked the dean in his office. Adnan Damiri, chairman of the student council denied the charge. Those suspended were Mustafa Odeh, Iz al-Din Faqih, Zuhair Khatab, Nazieh Hassan, and Nahed Najib Abu Rab.

The Dawn

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Shultz's Drum Roll

As planned, US Secretary of State George Shultz ended his shuttle in the Middle East after securing Israeli endorsement of a draft agreement between Israel and Lebanon that he was largely responsible for composing.

Since the beginning of the Israeli invasion of Lebanon last June, the American-Israeli alliance has shown itself doggedly determined to redraw the political map of the area. Having failed to do it by force, not even with the presence of the multinational forces, the US administration resorted to the magic touch of its secretary of state.

All the previous months of negotiations were, in any event, under the umbrella held by the US. During all this time there was no need, the American-Israeli allies felt, for a dramatic step such as announcing the achievement of a final agreement which would throw the ball into the nationalists' court in order to drag the region into war.

Now, unable to physically control the area and impose their terms on the Arab nationalists, the US and Israel aim instead at preparing the next plateau of pretexts for continuing their step-by-step aggression.

Before the invasion of Lebanon, the US administration followed the same technique but at slower speed. Philip Habib shuttled the area and was hinting that Israel would use force if his talks failed. The aggressors in Washington understand their goals well: they must dominate the area completely. If this goal falls beyond their grasp, they grasp farther – pull out their tools and destroy whatever comes their way.

The Palestinian people and their representative, the PLO, have been singularly intransigent in the face of the US s aggressive plans during the last two decades. This is why the US must either bend or crush them. Unbent and uncrushed after decades of war, the Palestinian people continue to stand on their demand that their rights be acknowledged and met. As the war-drums once more sound through the region they have announced once more that they will neither compromise nor surrender these basic rights.

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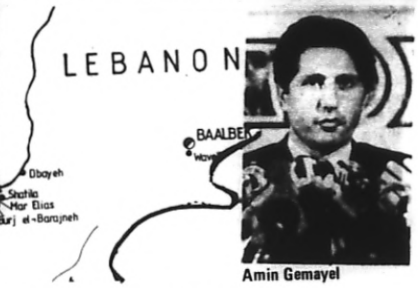


Amin Gemayel

Druze Demand Reforms For Cease-fire

by Livia Rokach Our Rome Correspondent

ROME, May 11 The Druze people of the Lebanon are demanding constitutional reform of the Lebanese state as a condition for an agreement with the Maronite leadership to end the war in the Shouf mountains. The Druze are recognised as by far the stronger party in the battles in the Shouf and they tabled their demands as a prerequisite for their stopping shelling of East Beirut and the Phalangist dominated areas around it which caused more than 30 dead and 100 wounded over last weekend.

The document containing the Druze demands was given to the Amin Gemayel regime two weeks ago, as US Secretary of State George Shultz started his Lebanon-Israel shuttle. It was published only yesterday, just at the right time to put the Lebanese ruling establishment in great difficulty as they were hoping to ratify the US-made capitulation accord with Israel. The document's publication comes at a time when a fragile cease-fire reigns in the area. It is signed by Walid Jumblatt, leader of the Moderate Druze Progressive Socialist Party, and the leaders of other moderate Druze factions, Emir Majeed Arsalan and Sheikh Mohammad Abu Shakra. The constitutional changes demanded aim at limiting the power of the ruling Maronite community in the executive, legislative and judiciary sectors and at increasing the weight of the Druse and consequently also other communities in the Lebanese army and in public life in general.

The document affirms that the Lebanese army will not be permitted to enter the areas where battles have flared in the past weeks unless an agreement is reached between the warring parties. If such an agreement is reached, the document says, the militias of both sides could disarm and a general amnesty be proclaimed for all acts committed during the civil war and since.

The tone of the demands definitely corresponds to the new balance of forces achieved in the Shouf region. The Druze are on the offensive and the Phalangists definitely on the defensive, having been literally chased away from Aley and the entire Druze mountains. The Phalangists had penetrated into that area for the first time in the history of independent Lebanon in the wake – and under the protection – of Israel's invasion troops.

Having achieved this military success and having consolidated it in the past two weeks and moreover achieved Syrian backing for their present moves, the Druze leaders are not ony demanding autonomy for their Shouf region a demand which could give rise to suspicions of separatist trends – but also a reform apt to drastically re-dimension the hegemonic projects of the Phalangists.

The main demands specified in the document are as follows:

* The constitution of a senate presided over by a Druze in which each of the six major religious communities would have an equal number of seats and to which all important legislative acts would be subjected for ratification. In the present system, the single chamber of representatives is composed of six Christians for every five Muslims and is chaired by a Shi'ite. Lebanon's six major religious groups are the Shi'ites, the Sunnis, the Druze, the Maronites, the Greek Orthodox and the Greek Catholics;
* The creation of a new autonomous region with full powers of self-administration in all areas where the Druze are a majority;
* A population census to be held in Lebanon within three years. At present there are no credible official population statistics in Lebanon, but it is common knowledge that the Christians are a minority in the country. A statistical proof such as would emerge from a census would have an enormous political impact and far-reaching implications;
* The elections of a prime minister by both houses of parliament and no more as now through his nomination by the Maronite president of the republic;
* Key posts for members of the Druze community in the public and justice administrations and 15 percent of the posts in the military academy where the army's senior officers are trained, and hence, in the army commands;
* The exclusion from Lebanese citizenship of holders of other passports. The main losers of such a provision would be the Maronite community abroad, especially in the US Latin America and France, who strongly support the Phalangist power.

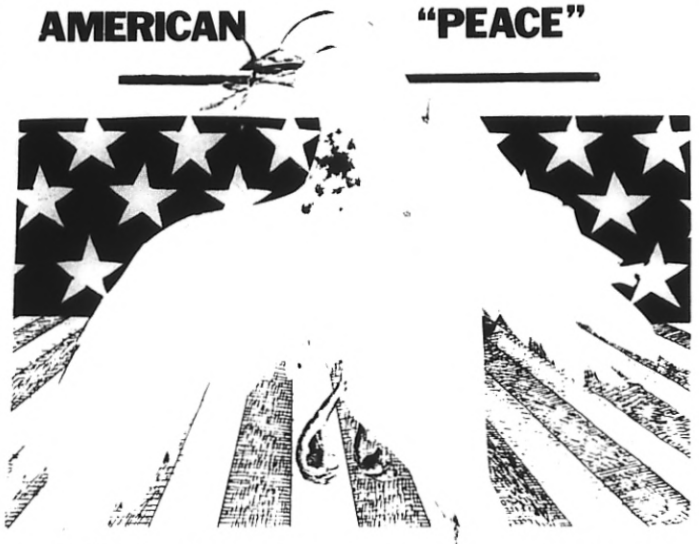
In themselves the reforms demanded are a far cry from those which aimed at the secularisation of the state which sparked off the civil war eight years ago and provoked the massive military intervention of Syria, backed by Saudi Arabia and all Arab reactionaries, against the Lebanese National Movement and the Palestinian resistance. But, in today's context, these demands have tactical aspects which should not be underestimated. In the first place they constitute, for the first time since the civil war, a clear counter-project to that of Phalangist hegemony and thereby a rejection of the blackmail threat of the invasion. It has become increasingly clear that the major Phalangist project, the one represented by Amin Gemayel and whole-heartedly supported by the Reagan administration, aims not at constituting a Maronite ministate which would run the risk of being extinguished, especially if linked to Israel and therefore cut off from its economic hinterland in the Arab world, but at imposing overall Phalangist hegemony on the entire country, thus retaining powerful cards to trade with Israel on the one hand and the Arab world on the other. This is why the Phalangists were playing a double game. On the one hand Amin Gemayel was playing the game of "national unity" and was conscious of the need for the support for his regime of Muslims, particularly the more conservative Sunnites, while on the other hand, Phalangist militias attempted to install themselves, under Israeli protection, in the Druze mountains, occupy positions of power in South Lebanon (coming into conflict there with the growing Shi'ite resistance and fierce competition from Saad Haddad) and concluded alliances with rightist anti-Syrian Sunnite factions in Tripoli. True, the more pro-Israeli Phalangist factions, known as "Bashir's Men", consisting socially mainly of the Maronite commercial petit bourgeoisie, drugs and arms traffickers and professional killers who care much less than the upper middle classes and oligarchy for links with the Arab Gulf, were at first fiercely opposed to Amin's project, preferring an accord with Israel, at any cost and immediately. But as of February they have been persuaded by Pierre Gemayel to give Amin a chance based mainly on American promises.

continued on page 15

OPINION

Al Fajr invites our readers to submit letters, opinions and articles. Contributions must be signed, but names can be withheld upon request.

THE BLOODY TRAIL OF AMERICAN "PEACE"



The American secretary of state who is currently visiting our area, recently called on the Arab world to change the 1974 Rabat summit resolutions that gave the exclusive right to represent the Palestinian people to the PLO.

According to Shultz 'There is no doubt the PLO hurt itself when it refused to approve King Hussein's entry to the peace negotiation.' (*Yediot Ahronot* 19.4.83). At the same time, Israeli Foreign Minister Yitzhak Shamir also made a bombastic statement characterising US policy as 'false. "Through this policy the US is exaggerating the importance of the PLO and giving it prestige. Thus the US is damaging the prospects of peace because the PLO in its very nature and because of its ideology is opposed to goes against and sabotages peace' (*Haaretz* 12.4.83).

These blatant words do not leave a shred of doubt. The next step that follows logically and has been proved in the past is to open a ruthless war against the Palestinian people. History shows that every time an American foreign minister comes to the area bringing with him a "peace' initiative we witness a massacre of the Palestinian people.

So it was with the Rogers 'peace plan that opened the door to Black September in Jordan in 1970 and also with the Camp David accords that led directly to Sabra and Shatila.

One thing that is difficult to understand is the terminology these white collar criminals use. Although they refuse to recognise the right of the Palestinian people to exist they stubbornly refuse to recognise the natural right of the Palestinian people to a state of their own. Although they conquer and annex territories that are not theirs, and although the Palestinian people are the victims of this whole policy they find it proper to transfer to the Palestinian people responsibility for the fact that there is no progress on the road to peace

The arrogant response of George Shultz and Shamir to the final failure of the Reagan initiative shows that Zionism and American imperialism are not able to learn from history, which shows that every attempt to divide the Palestinian people and the PLO is doomed to failure from the start.

Peace with the Arab world passes through peace with the Palestinians - and recognition of the PLO.

Despite all the plans, despite all the wars, the massacres, the assassinations of their leaders despite the pressure and the threats the Palestinian people remain loyal to the PLO. The suffering has only united the people behind their leadership.

That is why Shultz's call to Arab states is not based on the will of the Palestinian people and also not on any interests of Arab peoples. The Arab nations only affirmed in their resolutions of 1974 the will of the Palestinians. In the battle of Beirut the PLO, who fought for the honour of all Arabs and for peace proved it deserves the confidence of Arabs and peace seekers alike in Israel.

There cannot be true peace as long as the Palestinians are subject to the danger of annihilation. Peace with the Arab world passes through peace with the Palestinian people — and this could only be achieved by recognising the inalienable fact of reality that the PLO is the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. (Translation Derech Hanitzotz May 1983)

FINDING MY REAL HOME

by George Jordan

What do you want out of life? If you would have asked me that question about two years ago my answer would have been, "I want to be an all-star on the basketball team, to have a beautiful girlfriend, and to go to a party every few weeks." Believe it or not, that was my mentality, and it is the mentality of most American boys at the age of 14.

You see I didn't know about my people, the Palestinians. No matter how much my parents talked about our people, it never quite registered in my brain. Actually, you can't say it was my fault. After all I was born, grew up, and lived the American way. Yet there was a part, however small it might have been, that was different from other Americans. Deep in my mind, I was a Palestinian. But I didn't express this feeling, because I was ashamed of my origin. Yes. I was actually ashamed of being a Palestinian.

When someone approached me and inquired about where I originally came from, I would beat around the bush and say, I'm an Arab." If someone asked from what country, I would say, 'Jerusalem.' 'So you're Israeli?' would be their next question and my reply would be, 'Sort of half-and-half' or something stupid like that.

Later that night I would curse the God above me, and demand to know why he made me an insignificant Palestinian. Why couldn't He have made me like the rest of my American friends? And now, only two years later at the age of 16, I've finally realised what America did to me. It superficially coated my brain with it's candy wax, but this wax was quickly melted by the warmth of my people, who showed me the proper road for me to travel on.

My whole life changed a couple of years ago, when my parents said we were moving to Palestine. Honest to God, I didn't want to come to this country. I loved the 'good ole US of A, the home of the free and the brave.'

When I got here for the first month or two, I hid myself in my bare room and griped. I wanted my basketball, my rock-and-roll cassettes, my parties. But most of all, I wanted my America.

When one of my relatives would ask, "Where is it better, here or the States?' I would shoot back, 'America, of course! This place stinks!' Everyone kept telling me "Just wait till school starts." Well my school started here (on the so-called 'West Bank') and I was very disappointed. I mean, can you imagine me, the next Ralph Sampson or Dr. J. playing on an outside court. This was pushing me to my limit. There was no way I could stick it out in this hell-house for long, I thought. There aren't even any lockers to keep my junk or my sports posters in. But by far the thing that surprised me, and upset me, the most is that only 10th, 11th and 12th grades are integrated. I had to spend my time from 8:00 am to 2:00 pm looking and talking to boys.

And Arabic now that's pathetic. I didn't even know the basics. I tell you I thought life was gonna be really hard in this country, and it is.

Some time in November of '81, I heard some loud noises, like automatic gunfire. Wow! what a new experience. I wondered what they were shooting at, maybe some PLO dudes with arms. Go PLO, that's the way. I would root for the PLO and I didn't even know what the damn letters stood for. My friends would tell me to support the PLO and I just took it for granted that they knew what they were talking about.

As time went by, I came into contact more and more with the Israeli soldiers. Walking home it almost became a routine thing to be stopped and harassed. Same method every time.

"*Hawiya!*" [ID card] they would insultingly ask. "Don't understand Arabic." I would reply. 'Give me your passport!" 'Here, I'm an American." "OK get moving,' Time after time, it's always the same, except every week or so, the soldiers would throw in a slap or two. But every slap and every question made me more Palestinian. Little did they know that they were actually hurting themselves, not me.

The turning point in my life came in March of 1982. The peoples uprising was taking place in the occupied territories, and I was right in the middle of it all. Tear gas suffocation gas, bullets, beatings it was all a reality to me. To see the girl beside me on the bus get smashed on the head twice with a wooden club, really gets to the heart. It makes you feel. Makes you think. One day, which I'll never forget, made the decisive change in my outlook on life.

There was a big demonstration in our school. The school next to ours is a girls school that was participating with us in the stone-throwing. A girl of 16 stood atop a fence and raised the Palestinian flag. She was so brave and looked so strong standing there in defiance of the Zionists. Then an occupation soldier raised his American-made M-16, and shot the girl down in cold blood, right in front of my eyes.

I couldn't believe what I was witnessing. All those horror stories had just come true. The bullets were true, the tear gas canister that burned my leg and knocked me out was true; the girl was true. My love for Palestine is true. I never found out that Palestinian girl's name, but her face will live forever in my mind and in my heart. For she is the symbol of our struggle.

I only have one more thing to say. Yes world, I am a Palestinian. And America, sorry to say I don't need your basketball, or your music and parties and girls, because I've found the Palestinians, my own people.

JERICHO FARMERS STRUGGLE FOR SURVIVAL

UNFAIR COMPETITION, VULNERABLE MARKETS

by Daoud Kuttab

Hat al-Sikeh Idd al-Manjal Iw'a Fi Yom an ardak tirhal are lyrics of a popular Palestinian song of the early '70s. The song which means Hand me the plow and prepare the sickle and don't ever leave your land," was intended to rally Palestinian farmers against leaving their land in favour of jobs in Israeli factories. The national call to stay on the land is still an important Palestinian slogan but fewer and fewer Palestinian farmers are in fact able to continue work on their land. In addition to the attraction of the more lucrative Israeli labour market, farmers especially in the fertile Jordan Valley area complain that nowadays the agriculture department is working against them and in favour of Israeli agricultural settlements.

Complaints of today's Palestinian farmers seem to have no end. For the most part, however, the farmers gripes have to do either with the Israeli military government restrictions on vital water supplies and markets or with the negligence and lack of attention from the agriculture department towards Palestinian farmers and their everyday needs.

Water Controls

Immediately after the Israeli occupation of the West Bank the military authorities seized control of water supplies. Palestinian farmers were forbidden from digging deep-drill wells. The supplies of the existing wells were tightly controlled.

Military controls were recently extended to forbid the digging of water reservoirs. Palestinian farmers who have always received a time-controlled supply of spring water, started digging water pools about eight years ago to take advantage of natural spring water and use it when and as they pleased. Two years ago, the military governor forced farmers to obtain permission before they could dig a well. In order to get an application a farmer has to supply the authorities with a number of legal papers showing his ownership of the land and detailing his water needs and crops. Although many farmers have met the requirements and sent applications to scoop out pools, only one application has been granted since, says farming consultant Majid Dweikat.

Jordan Valley farm experts say that the water restrictions have forced Palestinian farmers to switch from their usual banana crop to vegetable farming.

Bananas are cheap to harvest but require a great deal of water. Majid Dweikat says that a farmer with 200 dunums is only allowed 50,000 cubic metres of water. If he wants to grow bananas he would only be able to plant half his land with the supply of water rationed to him,' said Dweikat. The banana market is a much more stable one than the vegetable market. During the past 15 years, the price of a kilo of bananas has remained around 200 Jordanian fils while vegetable prices have fluctuated wildly. For example, a 12-kilo carton of tomatoes has ranged, over the years from JD0.10 to JD4, leaving farmers at the mercy of a supply and demand market which Israel manipulates.

Central market in Jericho. "Israeli agricultural settlements exploit local markets to their advantage."

Competition

Farmers argue that the vulnerability of the produce market is due to unfair competition. They note that the Israeli agricultural settlements which are spread all over the Jordan Valley have played a major role in predetermining prices of seasonable products. Majed Dajani a small Jericho farmer, brought 11 cartons of green peppers to Jericho's central market on May 2. They were sold for IS11,000. The following day, Majed brought 26 cartons, and sold them for only IS8000. The price of peppers had dropped 70 percent in 24 hours because Israeli settlements had flooded the market with their own peppers. The agricultural settlements exploit the local market to their advantage because they are allowed to have alternatives. They sell their products to Israeli wholesalers, for European export and now for Lebanese export, while the Palestinian farmer's only market is the West Bank with occasional access to the Jordanian market.

In addition to unfair marketing, West Bank farmers also note that the settlements have an important technological edge. Dweikat who until 1980 was head of the government-run Jordan Valley Consultants Department, says that the settlements use the latest agricultural developments insecticides, laboratory facilities training new farming products and brands of seeds. 'The Palestinian farmer, on the other hand, has none of this and has to depend on outmoded methods and products," he said. The farming consultant was frustrated by the occupation authorities' attitude towards the Palestinian farmers and eventually quit and went into the commercial agriculture business. He says he has learned more on his own than in 10 years of working with the Israeli government office of agriculture. Farmers say that this "know-how' allows Israeli settlements to market vegetables sometimes 15 days before the Palestinian farmers can harvest their own. This gives the Israeli settlements a sellers' market —high prices and no competition.

Consultants

Palestinian farmers say that the occupation authorities have continuously reduced the farmers' consulting staff. "At one time there were 60 consultants, now there are only three,' said Majed Dajani. Farmers castigate the authorities' deliberateness in not providing Palestinian farmers with anything new in the farming world. They note that even the experimental stations, which are supposed to be used for trying out new seedlings before recommending them to farmers, have not been used. Instead, they claim, it is being used as a regular farming plot whose products are sold to Israeli wholesalers.

A 20-dunum strip in Jericho has been used for growing onions and another in Fara'a is used for watermelons" said Dweikat. 'Instead of helping the farmers, the agriculture department is helping the military government's budget,' he said.

Dumpings

Farmers also charge that Palestinian farmers are the dumping ground for harmful products. A case in point was this year's experience with the tomato insecticide Robijin. Farmers who have been using this expensive insecticide in past years have had excellent results. "This year the product was not effective and tomatoes were hit with a number of diseases' said Dajani. He is sure that this year's batch was "a bad one" dumped on West Bank farmers. 'With no control over the West Bank market, Israeli producers can do what they please,' he added. Tomato prices have rocketed, to the delight of Israeli tomato producers.

Commercial agriculture product merchants are themselves not allowed to import. Dweikat must find an Israeli wholesaler as middleman and pay him a handsome commission before he can obtain necessary farming equipment from foreign sources. Of couse, Israeli-made products are available — no permit necessary.

Palestinian farmers are also very worried about the implementation of two recently issued Israeli military orders. Military orders 1015 and 1039 strictly control the planting of fruit-bearing trees in the West Bank without the permission of the Israeli officer in charge of agriculture. The orders, which farmers say have not yet been enforced, may stop Palestinian farming altogether. Not only will Israeli controls be exerted on the Palestinian water supply and marketing possibilities, but now the occupation authorities will tell Palestinian farmers what to grow and what not to grow.

The Jericho experimental station. "Instead of helping the farmers, the agriculture department is helping the military government's budget."

THIS WEEK FROM BIWEEKLY TO DAILY

AL ITTIHAD: FORTY YEARS OF STRUGGLE – AND SUCCESS

by Awad Abdel Fattah

Al-Ittihad, the Israeli Communist Party's (ICP) biweekly organ, will become a 16-page daily, starting May 13. Since last summer, when the staff of the 40-year-old newspaper decided to take this major step, advertisements calling for donations and subscriptions to cover the costs of the "important historical project" have been appearing in every issue. Hundreds of members of the ICP (Rakah) were recruited to raise donations and collect subscriptions in most Palestinian towns and villages. Recent issues showed that about 4500 subscriptions out of the 6000 needed were already registered.

Parallel with the finance-raising campaign, calls have been made on Palestinian writers, thinkers and other intellectuals to send articles to meet the requirements of a daily paper.

Modern and sophisticated printing and type-setting machines have been bought and recent issues show a big improvement in the clarity of photos and typeface.

The up-grading of *Al-Ittihad* has an importance extending far beyond ICP circles, for it is the only independent Arabic-language paper published inside the 1948 borders of Israel. It mirrors to some extent the sentiments of large sectors of Palestinians there. The only other Arabic-language daily newspaper, *Al-Anba'*, is run by the Israeli government and reflects official Israeli policy.

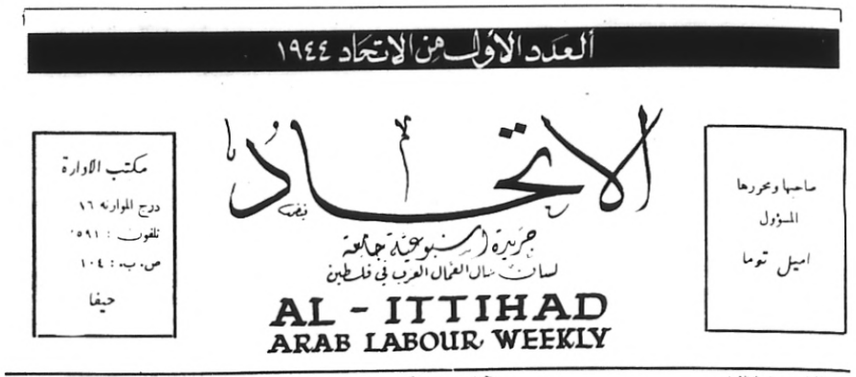
The First Legal Labour Paper in Palestine

Under the masthead of the first edition of *Al-Ittihad* runs the legend: "The Organ of Arab Workers in Palestine." As the *Arab Labour Weekly*, the paper began in 1944 as the first legal labour newspaper in Palestine. It appeared as eight tabloid pages, with news connected only to labour affairs, on 'advice' from the British mandate authorities.

The editorial, which was spread over the entire first page, was about Palestinian workers and the necessity to defend their interests and to struggle for achieving their class and national demands. It read: "This is our newspaper, the newspaper of the Arab workers, the first newspaper speaking on our behalf. It defends the interests of the people and expresses their aspirations."

And in another place, "... and to make their just cause known to Arab public opinion as well as to world public opinion .... and to expose the false propaganda which tries to distort our workers movement and convey to the British workers facts that have reached them as lies and deformations or did not reach them at all."

The editorial was critical of the British Labour Party leadership, and the paper even dedicated a special critical article to it: "We consider the appearance of our paper as the best response to the proposals of the executive committee of the British Labour Party which do not show any understanding of the issue of the Arab workers." The necessity of setting up a unified Arab workers' council representing all Arab labour organisations then existing in Palestine was stressed in the editorial, a demand which the British authorities had refused.


العدد الأول من الاتحاد ١٩٤٤

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تلفون : ٥٩١
ص.ب. : ١٠٤
حيفا

الاتحاد
جريدة أسبوعية جامعة
لسان حال العمال العرب في فلسطين

AL - ITTIHAD
ARAB LABOUR WEEKLY

صاحبها ومحررها المسؤول
اميل توما

العدد الأول — السنة الأولى — الثمن ٢٠ ملا — ٢١ جمادي الأول ١٣٦٣ — الاحد ١٤ ايار سنة ١٩٤٤

جريدتنا

فاما الزبد فيذهب جفاء واما ما ينفع الناس فيمكث في الارض ... قرآن كريم

الاونة ، بصدد تأليف مجلس عمالي عربي أعلى يمثل جميع المنظمات العمالية العربية في فلسطين ، ويكون الممثل الرسمي للحركة العمالية العربية والمعبر الصادق عن اماليها وامالها ، والمغذ القوي لقراراتها ومشاريعها ، وانا نؤمل وهذه الجريدة بين ايدينا ان نصل الى هذه النتيجة

The first edition of *Al Ittihad* published on May 14, 1944

Al-Ittihad was born after the 1943 split in the Palestinian Communist Party which had issued an irregular clandestine newspaper *Nidal al-Shaab* (The Struggle of the People). An application for a newspaper permit was made by one of the two splits known as the National Liberation League (NLL). "After a long wait, we got approval," Emile Habibi, one of the founders and the current editor-in-chief of *Al-Ittihad*, told *Al Fajr*. He added that the approval came with strict conditions, among them that all articles must deal with unionist affairs only. The application was made in the name of an unionist organisation in Haifa. All material for the paper had to pass through strict military censorship, the editor remembers. The papers were distributed by hand by the workers in different parts of Palestine. Emile Habibi said that the paper found wider circulation than expected. "We printed 20,000 copies of the second issue."

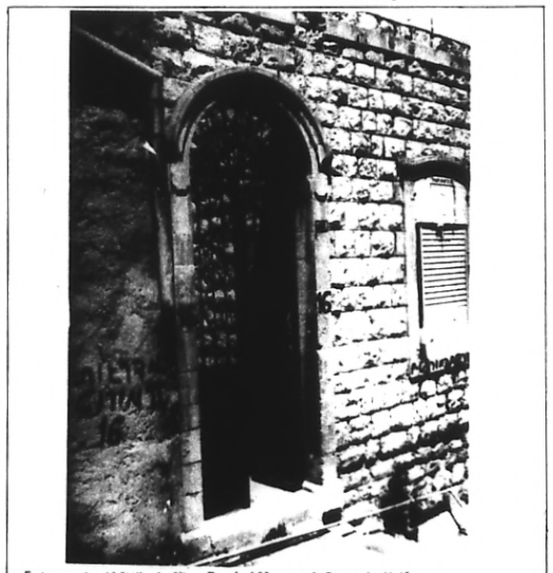
Initially, the newspaper was edited and printed in Haifa, in the offices of the Arab Workers Union of Palestine. A year later it was transferred to Jerusalem, "for political reasons, because Jerusalem was the centre of the Arab political party," said Habibi. It was moved a second time to Jaffa, where several other Palestinian newspapers were being published.

The growing political significance of Jaffa was behind this second transfer of *Al-Ittihad*, especially after the convening of the Arab Workers Congress there in 1945; it continued to be based there until 1947 when armed Zionist organisations who occupied the city broke into the paper's offices and stole the printing machines.

Besides the strict military censorship imposed by the British mandate authorities, financial problems plagued the paper in the early days. Initially, it employed one full-time employee. Volunteers contributed, usually members of the NLL or non-partisan nationalist writers and poets. Poets Abu Salma, Mukhless Amr, Abd al-Rahim Mahmoud were all early contributors.

The staff expanded between 1944 and 1947. "We sometimes were forced to collect donations at the end of the month to pay the salaries of the few employees who worked full-time on the paper," remembers Habibi.

Al-Ittihad, which wrote primarily at that time about the situation of Arab workers under the British occupation, was distributed in some Arab countries. In Baghdad, Emile Habibi remembers distribution eventually reached 500 copies. Greetings from anti-imperialist forces from Arab countries were sent to *Al-Ittihad* on every anniversary of the paper.


Entrance to *Al Ittihad* office, Daraj al-Mawarneh Street in Haifa.

From the beginning, *Al-Ittihad* was targetted for attack and criticism, not only by the British authorities, but also by some Palestinian newspapers such as *Al Difa'*, *Falastin* and others. They "were commercial and reflected the interests of the Palestinian bourgeoisie," explains Habibi. He said that these critics did not take up a revolutionary and progressive stand on the Palestinian cause. They supported the traditional Palestinian leadership which adopted the view of "conducting negotiations with the British authorities to convince them that their interests were to be with the Arabs and not the Jews."

According to Habibi, *Al-Ittihad* tried as much as possible not to attack and criticise these papers, "because the British were waiting for such a thing in order to create chaos and organise attacks against the paper and Palestinian Communists."

In 1947, the British occupation authorities embarked on concentrated efforts to cancel the permit of *Al-Ittihad*. The reason, according to Habibi, was for the paper's, "exposing the direct involvement of the British in the deportation of the Arabs from Palestine," which the Zionist organisations systematically carried out.

Al-Ittihad Enters New Stage

A forced closure of *Al-Ittihad* remained in effect until the beginning of 1949, after the establishment of the state of Israel. During the intervening two years complete chaos and violent disturbances governed the whole of Palestine, and work on a newspaper was impossible. But in 1949, a new application for a publishing permit was presented by the Communists in the name of Tawfiq Toubi who is currently a member of the Israeli Knesset, as representative of the ICP. The paper continued its work under the same name, but changes were evident. The new political circumstances resulting after 1948 led the Communists to believe that both their party and its organ should work within the Israeli legal framework, a position viewed by a considerable number of nationalist Palestinians as a surrender of the Palestinian national identity and a transformation into an Israeli democratic party. Through it, however, *Al-Ittihad* remained dedicated to defending the interests of the Palestinians in Israel.

Political problems did not cease. The paper continued to be harassed, this time by the Israeli authorities. In 1950 it was closed twice, each time for a month, for allegedly criticising the Israeli army. Habibi remembers that at that time the army "committed several particularly brutal actions against the Palestinian population and villages.

"The Israelis considered the army at that time as sacred, and we were not allowed to write anything about its brutality," he said. He added that they were not permitted to write anything about the massacre of Kufr Qassim in 1956 until a month later, when the government began making official pronouncements on the issue.'

How Al-Ittihad Works

Of all the newspapers which appeared in Palestine before 1948, *Al-Ittihad* is the only one which has survived and has continued to be a major source of news for the Palestinian population inside the 1948 borders of Israel. Despite financial problems and a small regular staff, the paper survives. It depends on the voluntary work offered constantly by hundreds of ordinary members or supporters of the Communist Party. Until now, the number of the part-time and full-time journalists employed by *Al-Ittihad* has never exceeded 10. A considerable portion of the material is still prepared and written by volunteer writers or correspondents.

According to Salim Jubran, the deputy editor-in-chief, volunteer correspondents usually members in the Communist Party are recruited in each village, town or place of work, at their request, after passing a course in journalism given by *Al-Ittihad's* editorial staff.

Sign of expansion: new printing machine at *Al-Ittihad* offices/AA

Local affairs — political, social, educational and economic — of the Palestinian population in Israel, as well as Israeli policies, occupy an important place in the eight full-size pages. One full page is dedicated to progressive, Palestinian and world literature, criticism and short stories. International and general Palestinian political news are covered on page one. The mid-week issue includes a sports page and a special page devoted to Palestinian workers and the problems they face with discrimination and working conditions. Not that *Al-Ittihad* ignored them before: "We have been covering all issues related to workers in detail in different sections of the paper. Our paper of course is a labour paper,' said Salim Jubran. Perhaps the most important issue dealt with by the paper has been land, crucial for the Palestinian population. "*Al-Ittihad*," said Jubran, is the most accurate and comprehensive source of information about land confiscation."

Regarding the style of *Al-Ittihad*, Jubran, who has been on the paper's staff since 1964, told *Al Fajr* that it is direct: "It analyses every piece of news and takes a stand on it." He added. "The role of our paper is to direct the masses, to organise and encourage them against all forms of oppression."

Explaining what led to the decision to make *Al-Ittihad* a daily paper, Jubran said, "It doesn't make sense that the Palestinian masses in Israel are without a daily paper, after the increase in their political weight, and their socio-political development after 1976." Jubran added that much of what was written was going to waste; only 60 percent of the materials prepared are run in the paper because of lack of space.

Al-Ittihad has had a central role in creating a generation of writers and poets and has promoted talented people. Young poets and writers have found in *Al-Ittihad* a place to voice their feelings and improve their talents in various fields of writing. "*Al-Ittihad* made me; without it I would not have become a journalist able to write and edit in various spheres,' said Antoine Shalhat, who has been working as an editor for the last four years. Other young writers publish in *Al-Ittihad* by correspondence.

Distribution and Readership

The distribution of the paper is still done door-to-door, through volunteer members of the Communist youth organisation attached to the party. But when it becomes a daily paper, distribution will be by subscription through bookstores, with only the Friday issue being distributed by CP youths, "for political reasons,' Jubran says, "to be in contact with the readers and the people."

Al-Ittihad is legally distributed inside the 1948 borders of Israel, but banned on the West Bank and Gaza Strip. "We refuse in principle to apply for a distribution permit in these areas, because we do not recognise the military government and we want it to be removed," explained Jubran.

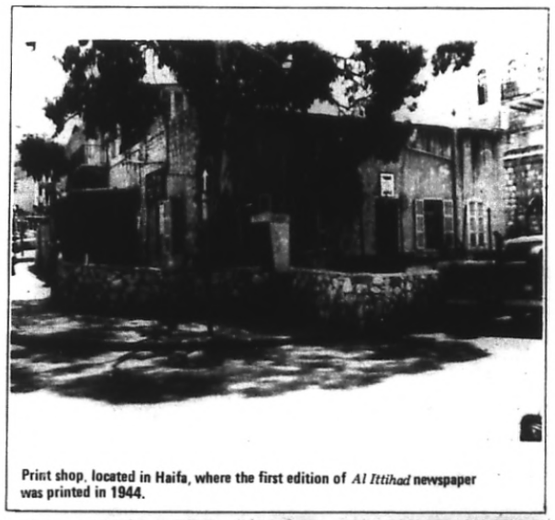
Who are the readers of *Al-Ittihad* and what do they think about it? The majority of its permanent readership are usually members or supporters of the Communist Party, or members of other Palestinian nationalist movements or groups, such as Abna' al-Balad, which are also operating among the Palestinians inside Israel. These readers share the same opinion: that *Al-Ittihad* is the only source of news about Palestinians inside and Israeli policies towards them, and that it has played a crucial role in reinforcing the national feeling of belonging to the Palestinian people.

A Palestinian teacher from Sakhnin, who has been a reader of *Al-Ittihad* for the last 10 years, told *Al Fajr*, "I am not a Communist, but I believe that *Al-Ittihad* is indispensible for the Palestinian population in Israel. It is the only paper which exposes the discriminatory and oppressive Israeli policies against Arabs in Israel."

Readers interviewed also commented that *Al-Ittihad* has played a great part in reviving Palestinian culture and has provided information about Palestinian writers, poets and national leaders who are not included in the teaching programs by the Israeli education ministry.

'It has restored my feeling of dignity and pride in my people,' said Ahmad Salem, a university student.

But there are also critical opinions. Some Palestinians see it as a Soviet proxy, and say that it always exudes praise for the Soviet Union. Others say it is full of exaggerations and inflates news and events. But members from other national movements have a different attitude toward the paper. An active member of Abna al Balad said, "We disagree with *Al-Ittihad's* political approach to the Palestinian cause. But despite this, we see it as a progressive newspaper which has been playing a crucial role in making a new generation of Palestinians in the Galilee, Triangle and Naqab aware of their national culture and the historical path of the Palestinians."


Print shop, located in Haifa, where the first edition of *Al Ittihad* newspaper was printed in 1944.

BOOKS BANNED IN THE WEST BANK

Al Fajr continues the list of books banned in the West Bank by the Israeli military authorities as published for the first time in cumulative form by the Israeli Defence Forces, September 20, 1982, under the title *Decrees, Orders and Stipulations Order Regarding Hostile Propaganda* The order is dated January 18, 1977 and is issued by Yehoshua Bar David, censor, who writes in the introduction: "Based on the authority granted to me in accordance with Article No. 88 (A) from Defence Regulations (State of Emergency) 1945 and Article 8 regarding the prohibition of works of hostile propaganda (Judea and Samaria) No 101 for the year 1967 and as I believe that the order is necessary for purposes of security and public order, I hereby issue the following order... It is prohibited to import or print or distribute the publications listed below this order. All orders regarding publications which were issued before the date of this order are repealed. The effective date of this order is January 26, 1976."

Let My People Live, by Ahmad Fuad Nijm, is banned by the Israeli authorities in the West Bank,

as are *The British Rule from 1918-1939*, and *From Heaven to Conquest*, both by Walid Khalidi.

Numerous books published by Institute for Palestine Studies in Beirut are also banned.

Title	Author	Place of Publication Publisher
Political Encyclopaedia	Dr Abd al-Wahab al-Kayali, Kamil Zuhairi and others	Beirut Arab Institute for Studies and Publishing
Palestinian Poetry in the Palestinian Defeat	Dr Abd al-Rahman al-Kilani	The Arab Institute for Studies and Publishing
The Roots of Calamity	Abdullah al-Tal	Beirut, Damascus The Islamic Office
A Fistful of Sand	Nasser al-Din al-Nashashibi	Beirut Dar al-Mawid for Publishing and Printing
Palestine Between the Conspiracies of Zionism and Colonialism	Dr. Hassan Sabri al-Khouly	The Supreme Council for Islamic Affairs
Christianity and Islam	Mohammad al-Tantawi	Cairo Dar al-Ansar
Small Pharaohs in Nasseriya's Hilton	Jaaber al-Haj	Beirut Dar al-I'tissam
The Issues of Contemporary Poets	Nazik al-Mala'ika	Beirut Dar al-Elm Lilmalayin
Defeat of Communism in the Muslim World	Anwar al-Jundi	Cairo Dar al-I'tissam
Movements and Sects in the Islamic Balance	Fathi Yakun	Beirut Message Institute
Hymns of Halima in the Temple of Love and Revolution	Hassan al-Lozi	Beirut Dar al-Awdeh
Anthology of Abu Salma	Hassan al-Lozi	Beirut Dar al-Awdeh
The Arab Nation	Mahmoud al-Abdi	Amman Print Workers Cooperative Society
Anthology of Ibrahim	Dr. Ihsan Abbas	Beirut Dar al-Quds
File of 67 Events – Novel	Ismail Fahd Ismail	Beirut Dar al-Awdeh
The Suffering of Ahmed Ibn Majid	Yacoub al-Muhraqi	Beirut Dar al-Adab
A Thousand and Two Nights – Novel	Hanni al-Rahib	The Arab Book Union
The Geography of the Arab Nation	Mustafa al-Haj and Others	Syria
Socialist National Education		Damascus
The Jews	Zuhdi al-Fatih	Ma'an
The Zionist Challenge in Arab		
Educational Programmes in Israel	Majid Arsan al Killani	Amman al-Aqsa Bookstore
Unusual Events in History	Mahmoud al-Abdi	Amman 78 Print Workers Cooperative Society
A Fighter from Abu Deis	Amin Abu Sha ir	Amman The Jordanian Press
The Jaguar	Haidar Haidar	Paris Dar Ibn Rushd
Short Love Odes	Husni Fraiz	Amman Shawqi Bookstore and Press
I Dedicated My Life	Suad Abd al-Nabi	Amman al-Madania Press
Nasser, Beloved of the Arabs	Kamal Saad	Sidon Beirut The Modern Press for Printing and Publishing
Educational Seminars on Islamic Law and Human Rights in Islam	Kamal Saad	The Islamic World League
Lecture Seminars	Kamal Saad	The Islamic World League
The Continuous Conspiracy Against Islam	Jaber Rizq	Cairo Dar al-Ansar
Lebanese Communists and the Tasks of the Future		The Third Conference of the Lebanese Communist Party
The Beast	Mohammad Ayoub	Jerusalem Dar al-Katib
Jewish Immigration into Palestine	William Fahmi	The General Egyptian Book Council
Kabuji	Haidar Haidar	Beirut Dar Ibn Rushd for Printing and Publi
The Way to Victory	Ibrahim Aziz	Cairo Egyptian Bookstore Educational Serie
Islamic Thought Must Be Free from Sartre, Freud and Durkheim	Anwar al-Jundi	Cairo Dar al-I'tissam
Open Doubts on the Horizons of Islamic Thought	Anwar al-Jundi	Cairo Dar al-I'tissam
The Search for Walid Masoud	Hanna Ibrahim Jabra	Beirut Dar al-Adab
Jesus Son of Mary	Hamid Awadallah	Beirut al-Katib al-Lubnani
Anthology of the Village Poet	Rashid Salim	Beirut Dar al-Masira
Islam and Directed Calls	Anwar al-Jundi	Beirut Dar al-Katib al-Lubnani
Laugh with the Liars	Joseph Fakhuri	Beirut Modern Bookstore
Islamic History Facing Challenges	Anwar al Jundi	Cairo Dar al-I'tissam
From Our History, 3rd and 4th Collection	Mahmoud al-Abdi	Amman Print Workers Cooperative Society
Islamic Antiquities in Palestine and Jordan	Mahmoud al Abdi	Amman Print Workers Cooperative Society
Safad in History	Mahmoud al-Abdi	Amman Print Workers Cooperative Society
Islamic Views on Communism	Dr. Abd al-Halim Mahmoud	Cairo Dar al-Maaref
The Downfall	Omar Jalal	Beirut Dar al-Masira
Sadat's Visit and the Despair of a Just Peace	Dr. Sadeq Jalal al-Athim	Beirut Dar al-Talia
Israeli Theory of Security	Translation, Haroun Mahamid	Amman
Experience of Searching for Horizons	Elias Khoury	Beirut
The History of Our Era Since 1945	Nur al Din Hatoum	Beirut Dar al-Fikr
Geography of the Great Arab Nation	Salah al-Din Ali al-Shami and Fuad Mohammad al Saqar	Alexandria Maaref Publications
The Modern Poetical Movement in Syria	Ahmed Bassam Sa'i	Damascus Dar al-Ma'moun
Lectures in Political Geography	Fathi Mohammad Abu Ayaneh	Beirut Kreitia Bookstore
The Growth and Development of Communism	Dandal Jaber	Beirut Dar al-Hijra
Islamic Affairs	Abdullah Kanoun	Algeria Modern Press
Arabs and Jews – Past, Present and Future	Mohammad Abd al-Rahman Hussein	Alexandria Maaref Publications
Recognition of Israel Through Settlement	Mohammad al-Majdoub	Strategic Studies
The Fruits of Conceit	Mohammad al-Ghazali	Cairo al-Mukhtar al-Islami
I Am a Zionist and I Demand a Palestinian State	Philip Gillon	Cairo Dar al-Maaref
Studies in Political Geography	Salah al-Din al-Shami	Alexandria Maaref Publications
A Step Forward Towards Holy War	Said Hawa	
I Swore on the Victory of the Sun	Al-Mukhtar al-Lughmani	Tunis Tunisian Publishing House
The Struggle of Religion	Mohammad al-Ghazali	Cairo Dar al-Kutub al-Haditha
Towards Islamic Awareness		Cairo al-Mukhtar al-Islami
Anthology of Abd al-Aziz al-Maqaleh		Beirut Dar al-Awdeh
The Arab Cause in Kuwaiti Poetry	Khalifa al-Waqian	Kuwait Modern Press

THE SOLDIER WHO DREAMT OF WHITE LILIES

الجندي الذي حلم بالزنابق البيضاء

This poem by Mahmoud Darwish, a masterpiece in a collection of masterpieces, portrays the unyielding resistance in the face of the conquerors, and evaluates the logic of human and humanistic dialecticism in confronting the barbaric inhumanity of concentrated brutality.

This poem drills beneath false premises until they collapse, and the false pretences of Zionism collapse with them; thus the three pillars of Zionism are shattered by a sense of justice built on sound and solid human ground, which is the heart of this poem.

The soldier in this poem is a Jew who was promised a peaceful life

by Mahmoud Darwish

He dreams of white lilies
Of an olive branch
Of the leafy bosom of evening
He dreams, he told me,
Of a bird
Of a lemon blossom.
And he does not philosophise his dream.
He understands only
What he touches, what he smells.
He understands, he told me,
That home
Is the taste of mother's coffee
And returning safe at evening.

I asked him, "But the land?"
And he said, "I do not know her.
I do not feel she is my skin and pulse
As it is said in poems.
Suddenly I saw her,
Saw her as I see all common things,
A shop, a street, the newspapers."

I asked him, "Do you love her?"
He answered me, "My love is just
An outing in the breeze, a glass of wine,
an escapade."
"For this you would die?"
"Oh no!

All that binds me to this land
Is a fiery essay and a moving lecture.
They taught me how to love her love,
And I have never felt her heart is mine
Or breathed into my veins
The scent of the grass
And the roots
And the boughs."
"And how is her love to you?
Stinging like the sun... like yearning?"
He looked me in the eye to answer,
"I give my love to her with a gun,
And her love comes to me
In the resurrection of the feasts out of ancient ruins
And in the silence of an old image
Divested of date and identity."

He told me about a moment of farewell
And how his mother was crying when they led him away
To an unknown place in the battle line,
And the grieved voice of his mother
Was digging under his skin
A new dream!
That doves may grow in the Ministry of Defence
That doves may grow!

He puffed his cigarette and said
As though he were running away from the swamp of blood,
"I dreamt of white lilies
Of an olive branch
Of a bird embracing morning
Over a lemon bough."
"And what have you seen?"
"I have seen what I have done...
Red lilies.
I exploded them in the sand
In bosoms
In bellies,"

"And how many have you killed?"
"It is hard to count them,
But I received one medal."
Torturing myself, I said to him,
"Describe to me one person that you killed."

He straightened himself on his seat
And played with the folded newspaper
And recited to me as though
He were singing a song.

"He collapsed on the gravelled ground like a tent
Embracing its broken frame;
His high forehead had a crown of blood
And his chest was without medals
Because he was not good at fighting.
He looked like a farmer, a labouring man, or a peddler.
Like a tent he collapsed on the gravel

And he died.

His two arms
Stretched out like two dried streams,
And when I searched his pockets
For his name, I found two photographs:
One... his wife
One... his little girl.

I asked, "Did you grieve?"
Interrupting me, he replied, "My friend, Mahmoud,
Grief is a white bird
That does not come near the battlefield, and soldiers
Commit sin who grieve.
I was an instrument, spitting fire and death
And making a black bird of my surroundings."
He told me of his first love, then
About streets far away
And about reactions to the war
And the heroism written in papers
And proclaimed by radio.

And when he had hidden in his handkerchief a cough,
I asked, "Can our hearts meet?"
He answered, "In a faraway city."

I poured his fourth cup
And said in jest, "You will go back?!
And what about the land?"
He answered, "Leave me alone.
I am dreaming of white lilies
Of singing streets

And a lighted house,
I want a good heart
And not this ammunition,
I want a sunny day
Not a victorious moment
Mad... Fascist.
I want a smiling baby
Laughing at the light of day
And not a piece of war machine.

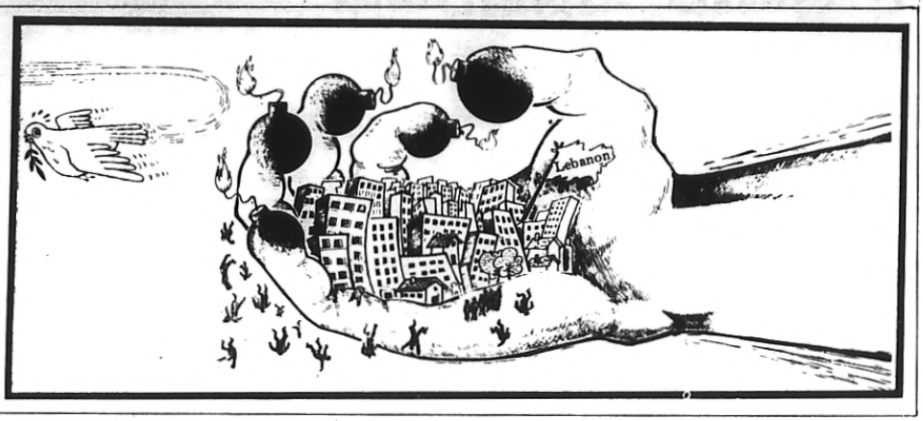
I came to live the rising of suns
And not their setting.

Now I refuse to die
To fight women and children
To guard oil wells and vineyards
For those who are rich from oil and factories of war."

He said goodbye and left the land
Because he dreams of white lilies
Of a bird that meets the morning
Over an olive branch,
Because he understands only
What he touches, what he smells,
He understands, he told me,
That home
Is the taste of mother's coffee
And returning safe at evening.

Translated by Frances Fuller

WINDOW ON THE ARAB PRESS



Local Palestinian newspapers focused this week on the agreement between Israel and Lebanon which was collected by US Secretary of State George Shultz. The reporting of the agreement revealed some of its terms which were leaked to the Israeli and foreign press, and reactions to it. Al Fajr daily recorded several news reports along with a variety of reactions from various capitals to the agreement. It also published PLO officials' reactions. All three daily newspapers carried reports on the state of tension on the frontlines in Lebanon following the agreement and a possible Israeli aggression against Syrian forces.

Among other local news, there were reports about the Jordanian government restrictions on Palestinians crossing the bridge to Jordan, new land grabs, and the continued stoning of Israeli vehicles travelling in the occupied territories. Also widely reported was the crisis at Najah University over the resignations of the Council of Deans after a large illegal rally by Moslem Brothers.

In their editorials Al Fajr and Al Shaab condemned the Israeli-Lebanese agreement as an American attempt to draw Lebanon into its orbit. Al Quds daily, however, welcomed the agreement as 'an agreement for securing the withdrawal of Israeli forces."

Positive Cooperation

The meeting between the Syrian president and the chairman of the PLO executive committee is a positive step under the circumstances: it withdraws threats of war along with Syrian-Palestinian rejection of Reagan s imperialist plans.

The Reagan plan does not just override the PLO and the rights of the Palestinian people to rule over their lands but also neglects Syrian rights to govern the Golan Heights thus adding a stronger hold on Palestinian-Syrian campaigns.

When the majority of Arab countries decided on the Fez plan as opposed to Reagan s plan, then the Palestinian-Syrian cooperation became essential to help with the defeat of the Reagan plans which many of the Arab countries are clinging to. This can be seen as a basis for refuting all interference from Arab countries to impose Reagan s plans at the expense of the Palestinian people.

The cooperation between the PLO and Syria is not new but these relations stress the cooperation of PLO and what was decided on at the Fez summit. No Arab leader dedicated to the Palestinian cause can see in this cooperation more than is present. Each should join the talks in order to combat imperialist pressures.

Based on this, the Jordanian view is seen through Amman's official interest in the positive evolution of Palestinian-Syrian relations, and its willingness to join with the PLO and Syria against military threats. All this it to combat American-Israeli plans to rule over Lebanon.

AL TALIA
May 5

Operations Against Israeli Forces

According to Israeli sources 290 operations were carried out against Israeli military forces in South Lebanon during April and the first week of this month. By the end of April, members of Palestinian organisations with the help of leftist Lebanese organisations, had carried out 260 operations against Israeli forces there.

According to the Israeli *Al-Hamishmar* newspaper most of these operations consisted of the planting of bombs and other explosives which can be detonated by remote control.

During the same period, 10 operations were carried out by organisation members with light and automatic weapons. The firing was aimed at Israeli military vehicles and sites where Israeli soldiers are stationed.

According to Israeli military sources, organisation members succeeded, during the same period, in smuggling 10 cars filled with explosives to areas occupied by Israeli forces.

The sources also added that a number of leftist Lebanese organisations worked towards the unification of their forces in South Lebanon under the name of the Lebanese Resistance Front, which aids the organisations in military support and fighting methods. The ammunition reaches these organisations either by smuggling it through the Syrian occupied territories or through the organisations' ammunition dumps which are discovered by the Israeli forces.

AL SHAAB
May 6

What Next?

The reaching of an agreement between Israel and Lebanon is not a surprise. US Secretary Shultz would never have come if he wasn t sure of the results, even if the clauses were not all known. The fact that Lebanon and Israel reached an agreement is an important step forward.

The fact that Damascus welcomed Shultz leads us to believe that Syria, the PLO and behind them, the Soviet Union are likely to be more ready to help get the agreement rolling. Lebanese representatives informed both Syria and Saudi Arabia about the text of the agreement before Shultz s scheduled visit today. The agreement was accompanied by a Palestinian-Syrian summit with the approval of the Soviet Union.

If the Lebanese-Israeli agreement has gotten this far the next steps expected should concern the West Bank, Gaza Strip and the Golan Heights. Most of all it should concern the future and rights of the Palestinian people. Again, views are directed towards the stalled Jordanian-Palestinian dialogue and the behind-the-scenes attempts to form a small Arab summit, involving (PLO Chairman Yasir) Arafat, (Syrian President Hafez) al-Assad, Jordan's King Hussein and Saudi Arabia's King Fahd.

If the Lebanese-Israeli conflict is solved or on its way to be solved for good, then the weeks ahead will witness developments concerning all aspects of the Palestinian problem, whether these developments are positive or negative. After Lebanon, the original parties in conflict will stand face-to-face before all challenges.

AL MITHAQ
May 7

The Central Issue

Despite residents' of the occupied territories satisfaction with news of the Israeli withdrawal of its occupation forces from Lebanon, the question remains and will continue regarding the wisdom of solving the Lebanese problem this way — distanced from the Palestinian problem which is the central issue of the Middle East conflict. The US would like to convince the rest of the world that it considers the Israeli occupation of Lebanon a temporary issue and that it is consequently eager to return Lebanon to its rightful sovereignty. However, Washington overlooks the Palestinian connection in the Lebanese crisis and all its related problems in the occupied Arab territories and internationally.

If we say that it is impossible to separate the Lebanese problem from the rest of the world, we would be correct in saying that the solution to the Palestinian problem will ease the Lebanese problem. This is a fact which all the concerned parties failed to realise and it is this ignorance which led to problems and constant conflicts. The Palestinian problem must be solved because solving the Lebanese problem alone is no solution.

AL QUDS
May 8

What's Behind the Agreement?

The Palestinian leadership continues its discussion in Damascus concerning the latest political and military developments in the aftermath of the expected agreement between Lebanon and Israel and the escalation of US support for Israel. They also discussed the increase of international sympathy for Israel and specifically American opinion, which believes that Israel did everything within its power to sign an agreement with Lebanon and that is was Syria and the PLO who stood in the way of its success.

It is obvious that such a claim means that in the eyes of the US and Israel any military action taken against Syria will be justified.

It has always been evident ever since the Israeli war in Lebanon that Israel would have never invaded Lebanon without a green light from Washington. The resignation of Secretary of State Alexander Haig didn't convince anyone that the US administration was ignorant about the war or that it withdrew its collaboration from Israel.

What an observer fears most is that the agreement is not merely just a settlement but a break in the plans for a coming war which aims at a total change in the map of the area.

AL FAJR
May 9

PALESTINIANS BARRED FROM JORDAN

Tens of young Palestinian men between the ages of 16-26 whose Israeli-issued exit permits force them to stay out of the West Bank for a minimum period of nine months, were turned back at the bridge by Jordan, May 8. Local newspapers quoted the semi-official Jordanian daily *Al-Rai'* as saying that Jordan will require all other West Bank and Gaza residents to sign a pledge not to stay in Jordan for more than 30 days.

Palestinian high school graduates will also be barred from attending Jordanian universities unless their course of study is not available in West Bank Palestinian universities. The Jordanian paper continued, however, that post-graduate students will be allowed.

Palestinian residents have strongly protested the Jordanian restrictions. The Jordanian action came at a time immediately following the breakdown of talks with the PLO. 'It is no coincidence that the restrictions are taking place now. The Jordanians want the local Palestinians to bow to them,' said Akram Haniyeh, head of the Arab Journalists Association in the West Bank. Haniyeh, who is the editor-in-chief of *Al Shaab* daily, told *Al Fajr* that the purpose of the Jordanian moves is to force local Palestinians to in turn pressure the PLO into making concesssions in favour of the Jordanian regimes.

The Jordanian moves have caused confusion among West Bank and Gaza residents. Except for the return of Palestinian men under 26, the Jordanian moves have not affected the population *en masse*. But the uncertainty and the arbitrary enforcement of the new regulations have given wind to rumours in the West Bank about Jordan possibly closing the bridges altogether.

Other unconfirmed reports speak of a Jordanian clampdown on incoming financial aid for charitable and village development societies. Members of housing project associations are also afraid that promised funds for their residential projects will be stopped or slowed down. Dr. Amin Khatib, head of the West Bank federation of charitable socities, said that Jordan would not dare go that far because the money distributed to Palestinian institutions in the occupied territories 'is not Jordan's money but Arab money allocated during the Baghdad Arab Summit in 1979.'

The Jordanian authorities returned, May 8, hundred young men, especially those whose permits read: "Not allowed to return before 9 months after departure.' They also requested that married women have written permission from their husbands in order to travel. The new regulation includes not allowing people to cross the border to Jordan with a passport application; they must show an original passport.

Jamal Shanti in his shop /JN

POLICE RAID PRINT SHOP

Israeli plainclothes policemen raided *Al Difa'* printing shop, in Jerusalem, May 5, searching for "anti-Israeli publications." They found nothing. Jamal Shanti [illegible] of the shop, said that the Israelis came to his press at around 1:00 pm and asked to search the premises. They inquired about the business procedures and what kind of publications he prints. Shanti told them that he sends everything to censorship before printing it.

They then handed him a search warrant. The three men searched the place thoroughly, and left when they found nothing.

Al-Difa' press printed the daily newspaper *Al-Difa'* before 1967, and now is a commercial press.

PROTESTING VAT

Ramallah Professionals Jailed

Two Palestinian residents in Ramallah were jailed, May 5, during Israeli tax raids on professionals in the city. The raids were to impose Value Added Tax on professionals and follow recent raids on merchants. The tax collectors are demanding retroactive taxes for the past five years.

The offices of Ramallah physician Mousa Abu Ghoush 62, and lawyer Maher Abd al-Rahim, were raided by two civilians from the military governorate. Both said their offices were searched and business records impounded. Dr Abu Ghoush said that after searching the office and picking out the files and other papers, the two Israelis asked him to accompany them to the tax office, in the civil court compound. Abu Ghoush, who is also the director of Makassed Charitable Organisation, which runs the Makassed Hospital in Jerusalem, was questioned on his revenue, and asked why he "does not pay taxes."

At the same time, Maher Abdal-Rahim was being questioned in the same office. At around 4:00 pm, the tax department head, known locally as 'Gideon,' came in and told them that they were to be locked up for further investigation. The two residents were then driven to Ramallah prison compound in the tax collectors' car and incarcerated.

Dr Abu Ghoush remained in prison for about 24 hours. He was bailed out by his accountant. Abd al-Rahim, was held four days. He was released after friends collected the IS125,000 the Israelis were demanding, and paid it.

Dr Abu Ghoush told *Al Fajr* that the way taxes are collected "does not suit logical or reasonable standards. They are blackmailing us; either we pay what they demand, or we go to jail," he said. Following his release, the doctor was ordered to pay IS75,000. The sum covers the past five years.

Professionals are boycotting VAT. International law states that occupiers' taxes may not be levied in occupied territories. The Israeli High Court, in a unique decision, overturned decisions of world courts by declaring such taxes 'legal', last month.

Fearing that they would also be imprisoned, some physicians, dentists, and lawyers suspended their protest.

The military government tax department has imposed a standard retroactive tax of IS20,000 per annum for dentists, and IS25,000 per annum for lawyers.

The tax department has ordered professional people to start bookkeeping for future tax estimates.

Abd al-Rahim asserts that VAT tax collection is illegal, the West Bank being an occupied area. "They, however, are imposing everything on us by force," he continued. Dr Abu Ghoush described these measures as part of the economic pressures inflicted on Palestinian residents in order to force them to emigrate.

Israel Imposes "Village Leagues" On South Lebanon

Israel has embarked on a new campaign in South Lebanon, aimed at establishing a permanent influence for Israel in the area, according to Western diplomats and international agencies based in the south. The campaign includes a plan called Organisation for a Unified South (OUS) and is based on the infamous "village league" system currently employed in the occupied West Bank. This system involves arming and providing economic support for local residents who are willing to collaborate with the Israelis. These residents are often touted by Israel as being "representatives" for the people under occupation.

The OUS in South Lebanon has two elements: an administrative "village committee" consisting of five to eight men, and a militia of up to sixty men per community. This is in addition to the Israeli-controlled and equipped militia of renegade Major Saad Haddad constitutes an attempt at expanding Israeli influence into predominantly Shia Muslim communities in the south.

The Israelis have been using a combination of threats and veiled incentives to persuade villages to join the OUS. Their methods include threatening to impose outside militias if the villagers do not cooperate, and offering to release relatives of villagers who join the organisation from Ansar prison camp, where they are being detained.

Israel has also pledged future economic assistance to the village committees, although the militiamen's salaries will be paid from a new local tax. The Israelis thus hope to develop a force of between 5000 and 12,000 men, directly challenging the Lebanese central government's authority and sovereignty over all of Lebanon. This contradicts claims that Israel undertook the invasion to help unify Lebanon and deals a blow to hopes of the Reagan administration to secure withdrawal of foreign forces from Lebanon.

A secondary function of the village militias is to provide protection for the Israelis presently in Lebanon by acting as a local police force capable of controlling guerrilla activity against the Israeli occupation.

The creation of the OUS has serious implications, both for the Lebanese government, which has been trying to maintain territorial integrity under very trying circumstances, and for the Shia community in the south. The Israeli plan has intentionally bypassed the traditional local leadership in the region and is threatening to cause friction among the inhabitants. A clash has already occurred between one of the newly-formed militias and the forces of Amal, until recently the only armed representative of the Shias in Lebanon.

RELIGIOUS FANATICS WANT MOSQUES TORN DOWN

EXTREMIST JEWS PERMITTED NEAR AL AQSA

The High Court in Jerusalem acceded, May 10, to demands of the Guardians of the Temple Mount, an extreme rightist group, that they be allowed to hold prayers near al-Aqsa's Bab al-Magharbeh, May 11. The Guardians of the Temple Mount want the mosques in al-Haram torn down and a Jewish temple built in their place.

A three-judge court accepted a request for an order *nisi* from group leader Gershon Solomon and said prayers could be held at the southwest corner of the mosque five metres away from the Bab al-Magharbeh, one of the gates to al-Haram. They ordered Rahamim Comfort, the Jerusalem police chief, to permit the prayers Gershon Solomon had asked for.

The three judges, Aharon Barak, Shlomo Levin, and Hannah Evnor said prayers should be allowed between 3:30 am and 5:00 pm. The police representative told the court that the police had intelligence reports that thousands of supporters of the movement would participate and threatened that if worshippers disturbed public order, the police would stop the service.

Gershon Solomon, who has led several unsuccessful attempts to hold prayer inside the mosque, applied to the Jerusalem police, May 9, and was refused a permit for prayers.

Saad al-Din al-Alami, the head of the Islamic Council in Jerusalem, told *Al Fajr*, "We do not oppose prayers being held outside the mosque."

May 4, 1983

CAMP MURDER

BEIRUT — Reports from Sidon said a Palestinian family in Ain al-Hilweh camp was attacked by unknown persons and the head of the family was killed.

ONE YEAR FOR MEMBERSHIP

The military court in Lydda sentenced Ali Ismail Ali Abu Ghoush, a Jerusalem resident, to one year in prison and eight months suspended sentence, for membership.

ANOTHER CAMP MURDER

Israel Radio said a Palestinian from Rashidya refugee camp near Tyre, was shot by a 37-year-old man and his 11-year-old son. The Israeli authorities closed Rashidya camp from one side. The Lebanese press reports that three more Palestinians were found killed in mysterious circumstances.

MINI-MASSACRES

The body of a 22-year-old man was found at the entrance of Sidon about 40 kilometres south of Beirut. Two other bodies were found inside Burj al-Shamali refugee camp east of Tyre.

BOMB IN TIBERIAS

TIBERIAS — An Israeli police spokesman said a bomb was dismantled in the new market in Tiberias. The bomb was hidden in a garbage container.

SHOPS CLOSED

Israeli authorities closed a floor-tile factory in Balata camp, owned by Attallah Shaker Issa, a shop belonging to Mustafa Abdullah Issa and a butchery owned by Abed al-Hamid Mohammad Ahmad al-Haj. All were ordered closed for three months.

PAY FOR POISON

Government-run Rafidya Hospital sent bills to students from Anabta who were admitted to the hospital during the poisoning episode. They were asked to show up within two weeks to pay the bills or else legal measures will be taken against them.

BEFORE THEIR EYES

The inhabitants of Fukin valley were surprised April 27 by Israeli surveyors arriving on their land with trucks and other equipment to level the land in preparation for a road.

Landowners were notified of the confiscation of 1700 dunums of their land, divided as follows:

— 1000 dunums in the area of ShaabBahur and al-Aqba. The owners are Mohammad Abdallah al-Hroob and family.

400 dunums in Aqba area belonging to Hassan Mohammad Taha al-Hroob.

300 dunums in al-Hijra area owned by Hassan Mohammad Abu Ghalus and family.

UNIONIST SENTENCED

Israeli military court in Ramallah sentenced unionist Sami Musa Samaan to two years and five months imprisonment after convicting him for membership in an "illegal" Palestinian organisation.

May 5, 1983

PLO ON ALERT

Reuters, the British news agency, reported from Damascus that PLO Chairman Yasir Arafat put Palestinian forces stationed in northern and eastern Lebanon on alert because of the increased tensions between Syrian and Israeli forces in the Beqa'a.

STONES IN FAT

A policewoman was injured while on patrol in the Fat neighbourhood in West Jerusalem. Israeli sources claim that five persons were responsible for throwing stones at the policewoman and hit her on the head. She was hospitalised for treatment and the five persons were arrested. No curfew was declared.

TOWN ARRESTS

The military authorities renewed the six-month town arrest order on *Al Fajr* night editor, Nabhan Khreisheh, a resident of Tulkarm. He must report daily to the police in the town.

The Israeli military authorities placed a six-month restriction on Mo'in Hassan Jabar, a fourth year student at Bethlehem University. He lives in Balata camp, near Nablus.

PRISONER DIES

The body of Tahsin Mohammad Darwish Daoud, from the village of Beit Dikku, was given to his family. He died of unknown causes inside Nablus prison. He was serving a one-and-a-half year sentence which had been extended by five months after he had clashed with a prison guard.

AROUB REMEMBERS

Demonstrations took place in Arroub refugee camp. The demonstrations were held in memory of a girl who was shot to death by an Israeli settler during a demonstration in the camp one year ago.

10 ISRAELI CASUALTIES

An Israeli military spokesman reported the death of one soldier and the injury of nine others during clashes between the primarily Druze Progressive Socialist Party and Phalangists southeast of Beirut. The incident took place as Israeli armoured vehicles and equipment were moving along the streets in a population centre. A mortar exploded near the Israeli military equipment which led to the injuries.

GERMAN STUDENTS SEE BZU

A German student delegation visited Bir Zeit University and met with the student council. The delegation discussed the academic situation in universities and other higher education institutions in the occupied territories and the role of student movements in the West Bank.

ART IN NABLUS

NABLUS — An exhibition of the work of Palestinian artist Kamel Mughanni opened at the headquarters of the Federation of Trade Unions. The exhibition will continue until the evening of May 10.

May 6, 1983

STUDENTS SHOT IN TYRE

One Lebanese student was killed and seven others injured by shots which were fired at a group of students in a school in Tyre.

Radio Lebanon stated that the incident happened when Israeli soldiers entered the school which is controlled by Amal, a Shi'ite organisation, and tried to search it. The student tried to prevent the soldiers from entering and was shot, the radio said.

HOUSE DESTROYED

Israeli bulldozers destroyed the home of Mohammad Nasr Taqatqa in Beit Fajjar. They claim that the owner of the home did not have a license to construct an addition to the house, built before 1967.

PLO CENTRE STAGE

The General Secretary of the DFLP, Nayef Hawatmeh, stated that the failure of the Jordanian-Palestinian talks was caused by the inefficiency of US Middle East policy. "This result showed that the PLO is not as marginal a power in the region as the American administration would hope," he said.

BULLING THEIR WAY

Israeli forces in Lebanon destroyed two homes in the areas of Chuaifat. Israeli tanks entered the area and searched the homes of Lebanese residents.

LOCAL PROBLEMS

The inhabitants of Beit Ummar in Hebron are complaining to the village council about the fact that the town's main street has not been repaired. They also ask that garbage located between the two main mosques in the village be removed and electrical lines be repaired.

May 7, 1983

TWO DEAD PRISONERS

According to an Israeli prisons spokesman a prisoner at the Nablus Military Prison was strangled to death by a fellow prisoner. The Hebrew radio said that the body of the 22-year-old man, who was serving a 21-year sentence, was taken to Abu Kbir hospital in Jaffa for autopsy.

WEEKLY REVIEW

Scouts march into Damascus Gate for the annual celebration of the Prophet Mohammad's holy flight from Mecca to Jerusalem /JN

Israel military radio reported that a 31-year-old prisoner in Beer Sheba prison was found dead in his cell. According to these sources, Mohammad Zaitar was strangled to death by two prisoners who claimed that he was collaborating with the Israelis. He was serving a 25-year sentence.

May 8, 1983

RAKAH ON CAMP DAVID II

Rakah, the Israeli Communist party, issued a statement on the proposed Israeli-Lebanese agreement saying that this agreement will benefit American imperialism in the region and will not benefit the people or peace. They also stated that this agreement will try to force Lebanese, Syrian and the Palestinian people to agree with the American point of view.

PRESS REOPENED

Israeli authorities reopened the office and library of the Arab Press in Hebron, which is owned by Ahmad Shweiky al-Rifa'i. It had been closed for one month.

LAND GRAB

The village council in Aqraba near Nablus reported that 1600 dunums of the village's land were confiscated. The Israeli authorities also announced that they plan to confiscate land in Khallat al-Rahib, Marwibe, and Tal al-Tawil which are owned by 30 citizens of the Beni Fadel, Miadimy, Beni Fami, Shtery and Hamad families. Their lawyer, Said Attili, plans to file a complaint within the next two days. During 1969 the Israeli authorities confiscated 44,000 dunums of their land east of Aqraba.

CLOSE

LEBANON — Rockets dropped next to the house of the US ambassador in Yarzah, near the Lebanese Presidential Palace in Ba'abdah, during conflicts between Lebanese Phalangist militias and the Lebanese Socialist Party (PPS).

ORPHAN KILLED

Demonstrations took place in Tyre and surrounding areas. Residents threw stones and blocked roads in protest of the shooting death of a boy from the Orphan Vocational Centre by an Israeli soldier. The Centre, which is located in the Birr refugee camp, is still surrounded by Israeli soldiers.

STONES IN THE STREET

Demonstrators threw stones at Israeli buses and settlers near al-Amari refugee camp, in al-Bireh. Soldiers fired at the demonstrators in order to separate them and blocked the main street leading to the camp.

SENIOR FEDAYI

Israeli military court in

Nablus sentenced Ahmad Salim Judeh, 65 years old, to 14 years imprisonment. He was accused of membership in a Palestinian organisation and participation in military operations.

MORE ISRAELI CASUALTIES

An Israeli military spokesman claimed that seven Israeli soldiers were injured north of Damour, when a bomb on the side of the street exploded as their vehicle passed. Soldiers were taken to the hospital for treatment.

COs

Israeli military court sentenced three Israeli soldiers from the *Yesh Gvul* (There is a Limit) movement to imprisonment for refusing to serve in Lebanon for reasons of conscience. The number of soldiers imprisoned for the same offence has reached 44 and 12 are still imprisoned.

SURPLUS LABOUR

Border guards barricaded all roads leading across the 'green line' in Jenin area. They also returned all regional workers who work within the 'green line', using the excuse that they did not have work permits.

FRIENDS IN ITALY

Former member of Knesset Uri Avneri and PLO Chairman Yasir Arafat's personal aid met in Turin in Italy. Avneri and Imad Shakur, Arafat's aide, both gave public speeches in Italy. In his speech Shakur stated that the PLO will not be adversely affected by the murder of Sartawi and will continue to keep in touch with the Israeli peace camp.

WEAPONS THEFT

Magistrates Court in Tel Aviv decided to extend the sentence of two Israelis from Bat Yam who were accused of raiding the civil guards headquarters, stealing arms and selling them to Palestinians.A representativefrom police headquarters stated that in early April the civil guards' headquarters was raided and 13 Karbi guns, and many other types of arms were stolen.

May 9, 1983

IMMIGRATION UP

Jewish immigration to Israel is up to 21 percent higher in the past few months than the same period last year.

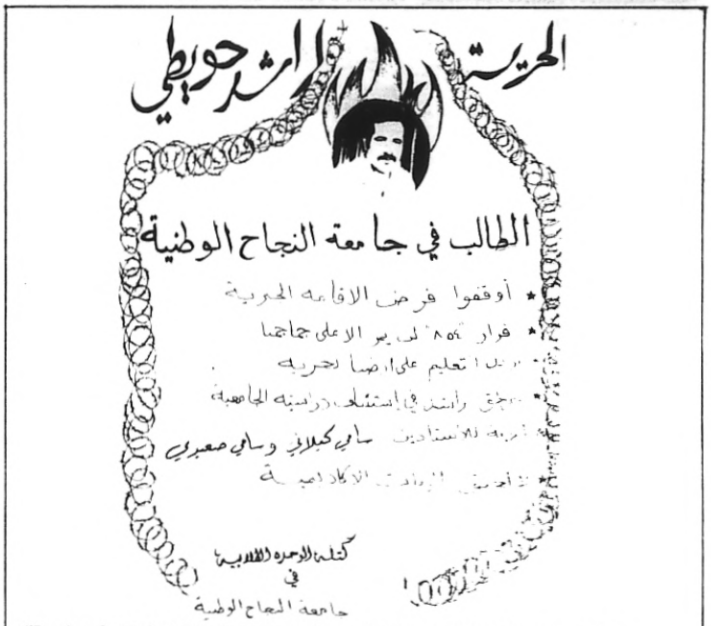
In April 1175 immigrants arrived. In April, 1982, 809 came. The majority of the new immigrants are from Latin America and the United States.

SCHOOL'S IN

HEBRON — Israeli authorities reopened Hebron University after a two month closure. Hebron military governor called the chairman of the board of directors of Hebron University to inform him of the decision. Classes are to resume on Wednesday morning in all the departments.

TEACHERS OUSTED

NABLUS — The military officer in charge of educational affairs in the West Bank dispersed the principal and certain teachers of Malik Talal school, which the authorities closed last week, to various other establishments.



"Freedom for Rashed Hweiti" reads a poster produced by al-Najah students to protest the town arrest of their colleague. The poster also condemns military order 854 by which Israel would gain control of the Palestinian universities.

May 10, 1983

STORES CLOSED

The authorities closed a cafe and a butchery in Nablus for six months on "security." grounds.

TWO HIT IN LEBANON

TEL AVIV — The Israeli army spokesman announced that two Israeli soldiers were wounded while on patrol south of Ain Zhalta.

13 YEARS FOR STONES

The military court of Ramallah sentenced three Dhahriya youths to 13 years imprisonment and two others to 11 years on charges of the man-slaughter of an Israeli women, Esther Ohana. She died after the military vehicle in which she was riding was stoned near Dhahriya in January.

FLAG IN ARRABEH

The Palestinian flag was raised in Arrabeh village in the Galilee. The flag was put on an electricity pylon and later taken down by Israeli police.

STONED IN NABLUS

Two Israelis were hurt and their car was damaged when it was stoned in Nablus. Israeli troops combed the area.

ARAB CAR STONED

The front windscreen of a car belonging to a Palestinian resident of Beit Sahour was stoned near Jericho. Elias Nicola Musleh was driving five of his family to Jericho when their car was stopped at a military checkpost. A stone was thrown from a settler bus as it drove through the roadblock. Soldiers at the post laughed. There was no shooting and no curfew was declared.

TRIAL FOR PRAYING

NAZARETH — Nine Beduin from the Naqab were summoned to appear at Beer Sheba Magistrates Court, May 22, to face charges of praying at Beer Sheba Mosque.

Nuri al-Uqbi, Oudi Abu Rabia, Suleiman Hamid Abu Rkik, Suleiman Khalil al-Asad, Oudi Jabr Abu Sihan, Aliu al-Qasis, Suleiman Abed al-Hoasli, Ahmed Suleiman al-Assim and Mohammad Salame al-Assim all prayed at the mosque on March 27. The mosque was grabbed by the Israelis after 1948 and turned into a museum.

During their devotions the police came and confiscated their shoes, and then held them for a couple of hours.

The Muslims of Beer Sheba have been campaigning for the return of their mosque for several years.

FIVE MONTHS FOR RAISING FLAG

Khaled Hayadreh, a 24-year-old Palestinian from the Galilee village of Sakhnin, was sentenced to five months in jail with one year suspended on charges of raising a Palestinian flag during Land Day celebrations, March 30. It is the highest sentence ever given for flag-raising.

Acre Magistrate Eitan Magen said in handing down the sentence that he had decided to jail the defendant to deter others, following an increase in such incidents. Magistrate Magen accepted the prosecution's demand for a harsh sentence as the act was dangerous. "He identified with a hostile organisation that is aimed at destroying the state of Israel," he said in passing sentence.

continued from page 5

Druze Demands

Now the Druze demands, inacceptable to the Phalangists, push Amin against the wall. If they are rejected, the "Beirut state" will come under fire, in which case the regime will expose itself by asking the Israelis not to withdraw from the Shouf region or even to intervene against the Druze and the Syrians backing them. This has obvious implications on the Arab level. If he agrees to negotiate on the document he will probably be overthrown by "Bashir's Men". In either case the threat of a civil war would once more loom over Lebanon, with Syria this time supporting the anti-Phalangist forces. This could be avoided if the accord with Israel is given up and a new negotiations process established in terms which are acceptable to Syria and the Soviet Union. At this point it seems that Amin Gemayel has understood the writing on the wall and, especially after verifying that Saudi Arabia will not press Syria into accepting the Shultz accord, contrary to the expectations of the secretary of state, he is trying to find a way out. This is why the Lebanese president met, yesterday, with the ambassadors of the five permanent members of the UN Security Council in an attempt to throw the whole Lebanese ball into the United Nations camp again.

These developments must all be seen against the background of a decisive turn in the tide in the Middle East in terms of international relations. The Soviet Andropov administration is determined to regain influence in the areas which USSR diplomacy under the late Leonid Brezhnev, especially in the last years, has permitted to fall prey to exclusive American domination, with disasterous effects on the gobal strategic interests of world peace. One obvious example is precisely the Shultz-sponsored accord. In fact, it has been unanimously stated, not only by Arab but also by European observers, that from the very beginning the US secretary of state did not aim at achieving a real agreement based on the withdrawal of Israeli troops from Lebanon but was simply manoeuvering to render Syria — and the Soviet Union — ultimately responsible for the degredation of the situation in Lebanon, to isloate them and to prepare the way for a US-backed Israeli attack on Syria. Even as staunch a US-supporter as Italian Foreign Minister Emilio Colombo openly criticised Shultz in the Paris meeting of the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development, for having left Syria out of the negotiations and having presented them with accomplished facts in the accords concluded for reasons which have nothing to do with regional realities but only the administrations concept of East-West relations.

While firm Soviet backing to Syria's total and unequivocal opposition to the accord and to the PLO's condemnation of it, as expressed yesterday at the executive committee meeting in Damascus, pre-announces the transformation of Lebanon into a major focal point of international tension in the coming weeks. On the regional level Saudi Arabian preoccupations in regard to such developments in addition to the on-going crises in the Gulf are serious enough to lead the Wahabite monarchy to balk at American pressures on Syria to accept the accord.

It now remains to be seen whether the Reagan administration will go from here to support an Israeli adventure, the cost of which may be unpredictable, especially if Syrian and Soviet steadfastness will be firm enough to impose an international re-evaluation of the entire Middle East question starting from the Lebanese situation but taking into account the inevitable centrality of the question of Palestine. Without doubt the first and most important indications in this regard will come not so much from Washington, Moscow or New York, but from internal developments in Lebanon itself.

CLOSED ARAB BANKS: DISASTER FOR PALESTINIAN ECONOMY

"The West Bank and Gaza were each given to a major Israeli bank as the spoils of the '67 war."/JN

by Daoud Kuttab

Once a year local Palestinian newspapers carry page-long balance sheets for commercial banks whose names are unfamiliar to the younger Palestinian generation. The annual calculation of assets, which have shown little change during the past 16 years, belong to local branches of Arab banks. Their names can still be seen on worn-out signs hanging above Jerusalem's main streets. The Arab Bank, The Cairo-Amman Bank, Ottoman Bank and the British Bank of the Middle East no longer have customers or employees. Banking can be accomplished easily however, inside banks with neon names like: Bank Leumi, Bank Hapoalim, the American Israel Bank, and Barclays Discount Bank.

Military orders (nos. 7 and 194) closed all banks which operated before June 1967, immediately after Israel's occupation of the West Bank, including Jerusalem. Money changers who previously had licenses to trade in currency were allowed to continue to operate within Israel's currency regulations but no new licenses have been issued since 1967.

The Israeli measure had the desired devastating effect on the West Bank economy, paralysing local control over development and forcing Palestinians to depend entirely on Israel for loans. The West Bank and Gaza were each given to a major Israeli bank as the spoils of the '67 war. The new banks provided basic banking services for deposits and withdrawal but had no interest in reinvesting the money deposited by Palestinians by financing local projects. The Israeli banks restricted loans to small commercial borrowing by the banks' best customers. With the exception of Jerusalem, bank loans given by Israeli banks in the West Bank have to be approved by the military governor. Of course, many development projects were not given license by the military authorities, even when the local residents were able to come up with the funds themselves.

Palestinian economist, Ibrahim Matar, feels that the absence of local banks has had a ripple effect. "In addition to its regular services banks are essential for creating money and opportunities." Matar pointed out the following specialized banks which West Bankers no longer have access to: the Agricultural Credit Corporation, which gave loans to farmers; the Arab Land Bank specialised in housing loans; Municipality and Local Council's Loaning Fund and the Industrial Development Bank. All these banks had branches in Jerusalem with headquarters in Amman. Matar points out that the only specialised bank, newly available to Palestinians, is the Israeli Bank Tafahot which gives housing loans only to Jerusalem residents.

Israeli commercial banks which are available to West Bankers have been mostly restricted to simple transactions.

A Jerusalem banker explained to *Al Fajr* that Palestinians simply have no trust in Israeli banks. The anonymous banker, who heads an Israeli bank in Jerusalem, explained the reasons for the distrust. "People's faith in Israeli banks is negligible because of the political atmosphere of instability, the inflationary cycle which is over 100 percent annually and the high taxation imposed on Palestinian merchants. Customers simply prefer to stay off the (banking) stage," he said. The banker explained that many individuals prefer to change their Israeli money for Jordanian dinars or other hard currency and trade with it, that way bypassing local Israeli banks.

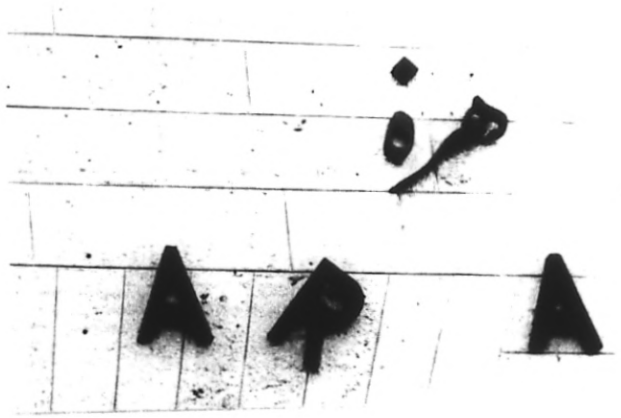
Matar notes that in the period between 1967 and 1978, "we were a society without credit." Only after the setting up of the steadfastness fund, which was decided at the 1978 Baghdad summit, did large sums of money again begin to enter the West Bank for development projects. Prior to that, Israeli banks collected deposits from Palestinians and used the cash flow liquidity for Israeli development projects.

Dr. Bakir Abu Kishk, dean of the business faculty at Bir Zeit University, says that the loaning policy for banks operating in the West Bank is decided in Tel Aviv. Abu Kishk, who also heads the research department at the Palestinian university, discounts the possibility that Israeli banks would work for the interests of any but the Israeli economy. The Palestinian professor was skeptical that the Palestinian economy could revive if the Arab banks were allowed to reopen. "Banks cannot work effectively without a central bank which directs economic policy," he said.

Abu Kishk, who has reported to the UN on the functioning of the West Bank economy, without banks, says that the Bank of Palestine in Gaza, the only Arab bank allowed to reopen, is a good example of the ineffectiveness of working without a central bank.

The Bank of Palestine was allowed to open in 1982 after long negotiations with the Bank of Israel in the aftermath of the Camp David accords. The bank was allowed to open only one branch in Gaza and has been restricted from using foreign currency. Dr Abu Kishk told *Al Fajr* that the year end balance sheet of the bank shows its inability to affect the economy whatsoever.

Economist Matar notes that even if the Bank of Palestine were allowed to use foreign currency "that would only lead to strengthening the Israeli foreign currency reserves, since the bank would have to keep a foreign currency account in the Central Bank of Israel. Transferring funds to and from Arab countries is strictly prohibited."



The Arab Bank, The Cairo-Amman Bank and others no longer have customers or employees.

The following is excerpted from a study entitled *The Current Economic Situation in the Occupied Territories* **by Dr Bakir Abu Kishk, Bir Zeit University Centre, and submitted by the United Nations Conference for Trade and Development, September 1982.**

Availability of credit is important for economic growth. Both a banking system and easy monetary policy are necessary to make credit available to investors at low cost.

Before the 1967 war six banks operating eleven branch offices existed in the Gaza Strip and there were more than a dozen banks in the West Bank with branches in all major cities and some of the large villages. All these banks have been closed since 1967. On the fourth day of August 1981 the Bank of Palestine was permitted to resume its work in Gaza City only. The Bank was denied the right to conduct any transactions or savings in foreign currency and to limit its activities to Israeli currency. Since most savings of the population of the Gaza Strip is made in dollars or sterling, the bank was not able to accommodate these savings and as a result most of these were channeled to Israeli banks.

Since the 1967 war, the economy of the occupied Palestinian territories suffers from the absence of finance intermediaries on one hand and from the tight monetary policy adiministered by the Israeli authorities on the other. Although Israeli banks have established branches in the Palestinian territories, five of these in Gaza Strip alone, their activities were limited to daily and short term transactions. Extending credit to investors to encourage investment in the economy has been maintained at an insignificant level. For this reason investors were not able to rely on banking services to finance their investments. It was found from a random sample which included 276 establishments in the territories, that 97 percent of all establishments in the sample were financed privately or through partnership. Only three percent of all establishments obtained loans from banks and it is probable that most of these loans came from non-Israeli banks.

Your Vote Counts

"In his relentless
efforts to achieve his
goals of serving the
Ramallah People and the
Palestinian cause by seeking
the Presidency of the **American**
Federation of Ramallah, Palestine;
NICK ZAYBAK has traveled to all the
Ramallah Communities throughout the
United States to meet all his people and explain
his programs and discuss their mutual needs. We
applaude Nick's efforts and commend him on his
activities and dedication; if this is any indication of his
future efforts, we are certain that **NICK ZAYBAK** is the
best choice for this position. We feel that the job of the Presi-
dent is very sensitive and demanding and since **NICK** has shown
us that he has the time, energy and qualifications. The Jerusalem
"Al-Fajr" endorses his candidacy and urge all of you to support him."

ELECT
NICK ZAYBAK

JULY 6, 7, 8 & 9 IN DETROIT

Paid For By The Committee To Elect NICK ZAYBAK

At These Crucial Times, We in the
American Federation of Ramallah Palestine
need Strong Leadership.

ELECT

NICK ZAYBAK

FOR

DEPUTY PRESIDENT OF AMERICAN FEDERATION OF RAMALLAH PALESTINE

YOUR VOTE WILL MAKE THE DIFFERENCE

Make Your Choice Through Your Delegates.

Elections are held in Detroit at the Annual Convention on
July 6, 7, 8, 9, 1983.

Please Attend.

"PALESTINE WILL ALWAYS BE MINE"

Paid For By The Committee To Elect Nick Zabak

MESSAGE BY HIS MAJESTY KING HUSSEIN OF THE HASHEMITE KINGDOM OF JORDON CONVEYED BY HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS CROWN PRINCE HASSAN TO THE ANNUAL CONVENTION OF THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF ARAB AMERICANS

14 MAY, 1983
WASHINGTON, D.C.

Ladies and Gentlemen.

I believe it appropriate at this annual convention of the National Association of Arab Americans to speak of what is an odious phenomenon that affects you, Arab Americans, as much as it concerns us in the Arab World at home. It is that of the stereotype; a bland dictionary definition which is a 'standardized conception or image invested with special meaning'. More often than not, it has other connotations, such as characteristics attributed to a group of people, portraying them as repugnant or unworthy.

I am here to say that you should take pride in your cultural background. You must be as conscious of your ancestors in their countries of origin in the Arab World as you are of being American nationals. Your forebears carried the torch of a glorious civilization to the four corners of the world in the same manner as Americans raised the torch of liberty and led the world in the field of technology and know-how.

The Arab Nation today may be weak, divided and quarrelsome, yet a cursory look through the pages of history will indicate the contribution Arabs have made to human civilization in sciences and the arts. We, in Jordan, have watched the birth and development of the National Association of Arab Americans with expectation. We indeed feel privileged to have supported this movement from its early beginnings.

The odium of cultural victimization cannot be easily resolved, yet it is less complex than that of the political stereotype. Arabs have, in general, been labelled as 'war mongers' for too long. Ironically, Jordan, and I personally, have recently been singled out as 'obstacles to peace'. What is not appreciated, particularly where it matters — in the corridors of power — is that for the last sixteen years, a fundamental reversal of roles has transformed the nature of the Arab-Israeli conflict.

It is a fair assertion that the road from Khartoum, the venue of the Arab Summit Conference in 1967, to Khalde, one of the sites of the recent negotiations in Lebanon, has been littered with opportunities, missed largely due to Israeli intransigence. Over the central issue of the Palestine question, it is the Israeli Premier, Mr. Begin, and not President Nasser's successors in Egypt, who stands firm on the three No's: No recognition; No negotiations and No peace. It is the Israeli Premier, and not I, who vehemently opposed and rejected the Reagan peace initiative of September 1982, and even accused his fellow countrymen of treason were they to consider it as the basis for Middle East peace.

It is after sixteen years and two more wars, in 1973 and 1982, that the cornerstone for the peace we all seek remains United Nations Resolution 242. I contributed directly to the formulation of that resolution, which was confirmed in the disengagement agreements of 1974 between Egypt, Syria and Israel respectively. United Nations Resolution 338, which called for the disengagement in 1973, was based on 242, the spirit of which should have been reaffirmed in words and deeds in the Camp David Accords and President Reagan's initiative. Israel has flaunted every provision of Resolution 242.

Under the provisions of 242 and 338, Israel was offered recognition and security within its own borders. The Arabs, in return, sought the restoration of occupied territories, including Arab Jerusalem. Israel refused to comply. The peace treaty with Egypt in 1979 did lead to the evacuation of Israeli troops from Sinai, but its formulation and implementation over the last four years has been a step back from the provisions of United Nations resolutions which called for a comprehensive settlement.

We had no quarrel with the statement made by President Sadat in the Knesset in 1977, but the Egypt-first approach adopted at Camp David has seriously damaged the expectations of comprehensive peace. The strategic balance was shifted in favour of Israel as a direct result of the neutralization of Egypt. A triumphant Israel, consolidating its role of policeman in the Middle East, has sapped Arab political will to act constructively; to the detriment of American-Arab friendship and interests. Israel leaders claimed, sixteen years ago, that they did not covet one foot of Arab territory. Today they dominate the West Bank, employing vestitive biblical arguments to claim it as an exclusive and integral part of historic Israel. They may, no doubt, evolve similar claims to Gaza and the Golan Heights, and if withdrawal is thwarted again, Southern Lebanon may become the 'North Bank' of the Jordan. Israel's apologists cannot continue to reiterate Israel's desire to live in peace with its Arab neighbours; they disregard the fact that by military annexation, Israel refuses to co-exist on anything short of its own terms.

It is not a mere coincidence that while the Arabs were engaged in energetic efforts to evolve a peace formula, which crystallized in the Fez Peace Plan, Israel chose to seek peace in Galilee by going to war in Lebanon. The objective, *inter alia*, was to shatter the emerging Arab peace consensus. The Israeli public has been stricken by doubts on the validity, as well as the morality, of this protracted campaign.

We, in Jordan, believe that the spirit of the Reagan initiative and the Fez Peace Plan, offers the broad delineations within which a just and lasting settlement must be found. I, for my part, welcomed the Reagan proposals from the very outset and wanted to see them evolve and develop. They were not perfect, but marked a refreshing change and injected a new impetus into the peace process.

We welcome and appreciate the President's perception of the Palestine question as 'the root cause' of the conflict. We noted with keen interest his interpretation of the Camp David provisions on the status of the West Bank and Gaza Strip, to be essentially part of the Arab patrimony. The omission of a link between Israel's security needs and the recognition of Arab legitimate rights in Palestine was unfortunate. Although the President called for a freeze on the construction of settlements and demographic movement in the areas under Israeli occupation, the Palestinian people are concerned that he did not reaffirm the illegality of acquisition of territory by force.

While keeping our Jordanian-Palestinian family aware of the time constraint caused by rapid changes in the occupied territories, I have tried to attract international attention to the plight of the Palestinian people. An essential dialogue with the PLO was embarked on, in accordance with their role as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people — determined by the Rabat Summit of 1974.

Our goal is plainly and simply the restoration of Arab rights in Arab lands occupied in June 1967. Our Palestinian interlocuters are also concerned about the future status of the occupied territories, to have been predetermined by the Reagan plan as self-government linked to Jordan. I led the seven-nation committee, set up in the wake of the Fez Summit, to tour of the capitals of the five permanent member states of the United Nations Security Council and personally visited Washington, to inform them of the Arab consensus on a peaceful settlement. I have earnestly striven, with Arab support, to establish a Jordanian-Palestinian accommodation, having been assured by the United States that it would do its utmost to indicate to both Arabs and Israelis that decisive measures are undertaken to make the President's approach serious and effective.

While the administration in Washington anticipated our positive response, the Arab World felt outraged by increasing Israeli intransigence and provocation. The Soviets, feeling excluded from the peace process, made their opposition known. Moderate Arab opinion felt intimidated and was further dismayed by the outcome of the Palestine National Council meeting at Algiers.

In the meantime, it appeared as though aggression has been rewarded and moderation punished, when a House of Representatives Foreign Affairs Sub-Committee voted to make future arms sales to Jordan contingent on our willingness to join the Camp David peace negotiations and to grant diplomatic recognition to Israel. While American assistance to Jordan, for fiscal year 1984, is about $100 million, the same Sub-Committee added $365 million to President Reagan's request for $2.55 billion in economic and military aid to Israel for the same year. These measures have undermined the peace-making process initiated by the President.

Gradually, the Jordan-PLO dialogue has lost its momentum. My faith in the President's resolve and his unquestionable good intentions remains strong. I believe the administration concurs that the United States should not initiate a policy which it cannot implement. The risks are too high and the repercussions are extremely dangerous, for what is at stake is American credibility, not just in the Middle East, but throughout the world. The recent visit by Secretary of State Shultz to the area is a clear indication that the President intends to persevere in spite of the difficulties encountered so far. Though our joint efforts have been thwarted for the time being, it should go without saying that our commitment to peace with dignity is paramount.

Israel's quest for power and dominance in our region seems boundless. A hard-line Israeli security concept and strategy for the eighties is based not simply on the destruction of the corporate nature of the Arab people of Palestine, but also on the fragmentation of the Arab Nation into ineffectual warring tribes of ethnic and religious-sectarian groupings. As a descendant of the leader of the Great Arab Revolt, I shall continue to endeavour to preserve Arab unity, as you must do in your own ranks.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

You are familiar with the slogan, "Jordan is Palestine". Today, the Palestinians want their own homeland. Zionist extremists are offering them Jordan as an alternative. Is is not strange that the Palestinians are not making that demand, but the Zionists are? Of course, that is because the Palestinians have a country of their own, which cannot be confused with Jordan.

The advertisements which have recently appeared in some of the leading American papers may be dismissed as a mere contrivance and a gimmick, but for their sinister implication. The claim has no substance in history or law. Indeed, it contradicts earlier assertions that there were no Palestinians; the people were 'southern Syrian', we were told. Today, we are told there are Palestinians, and their rights to self-determination should be exercised in Jordan. It is a peculiar kind of logic that led Zionist spokesmen to such conclusions. Germany has been able to settle 20 million refugees, but Germany remains Germany. I am not going to hazard a guess as to the millions the United States has absorbed over the years, but I believe the United States is still the United States — unless you know otherwise.

It is rather a serious matter. In history, Jordan has always been distinct from Palestine. We border the Jordan Rift Valley, the longest of its kind in the world, and geology, if nothing else, dictates that it is the Western and not the Eastern Bank that is Palestine.

In law, Jordan was excluded from the provisions of the Balfour Declaration, almost as soon as hostilities were terminated at the end of the Great War. At the peace conference, Zionist lobbying for the inclusion of parts of Jordan and Southern Lebanon, on economic grounds, within the boundaries of Palestine, was rejected. It was at the same conference in 1919 that my great-uncle Faisal I called for self-determination in Palestine.

Our association with Palestine is deep and long. The Palestinians are as aware of the fact that our destinies have been intertwined, as we are. In 1950, the unity of the two Banks of the Jordan came about as a result of the exercise of the right of self-determination by the Palestinians, and the integration of two distinct entities, to make up the State. The Jordanian Parliament, representing both Banks, made it clear that union did not mean the relinquishment of existing Arab rights and claims in Palestine. In the wake of the 1967 occupation of Arab territories, the right of self-determination has been denied to the Palestinians by Israel. It is noteworthy that Israeli leaders have proposed the alternative homeland slogan in reaction to international recognition of Palestinian rights, although Israel did not dissent from the declaration on general principles of international law adopted by the General Assembly in 1970, without vote. We are deeply commited to a peace process that would recognize legitimate Palestinian rights to their own homeland.

Time is running extremely short. The situation is growing ever more desperate. The physical and demographic changes introduced by the Israeli authorities in the occupied areas threaten the very existence of the Palestinian people there. The mood of desperation must be redressed. The world has to recognize that the principal constituency that needs immediate protection is those Palestinians under Israeli occupation. We seek your assistance, Americans of all political persuasions, to make an unequivocal commitment to a broader peace process. Our vital interests will have to be defended, whereby extremists are unable to dictate the future course of events. Our region is threatened by strident populist radicalism of various shades of political opinion.

We shall continue our effort in the search for a just and lasting settlement in the Middle East. It must be a comprehensive peace, so that the energies of all the parties concerned, particularly the Palestinians, could be directed towards creative endeavours. A resolution of the Lebanese question, important as it is, should not be the end, but the means, to an overall settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict.

We believe the time is opportune and the climate precipitous for such a settlement. However, Israelis must abandon their siege mentality and accept to live in the region as partners, and not overlords or masters.

We call upon you to reach out to all decent Americans for the establishment of a peace lobby. We need a constituency — a bi-partisan body — as advocated by former Presidents Gerald Ford and Jimmy Carter, and for which President Reagan has indicated the way to promote and support peace moves, rather than fan the flames of constant war. A peace constituency cannot evolve without a factual representation of the dangers that beset our Near East region. In this pursuit, I urge all concerned members of Congress and the Senate to visit Jordan, to acquaint themselves with the facts, and to interact in sharing the joint responsibility we bear in making a lasting Middle Eastern peace a reality. Time is of the essence, and I trust, Ladies and Gentlemen, that this invitation can be accepted and acted upon with the sense of urgency with which it has been extended.

Jordan is for world peace, without which none of us can hope for prosperity or a better standard of living for our peoples. Our vision of the resourceful people in the Middle East, the cradle of civilization, contributing fully to human betterment, has yet to be dimmed.

We belong to the pragmatic school of our forebears, which in no way dilutes our idealism or dedication to the cause in which we believe. Of the present and the future, our basic aim is summarized in the words of Franklin Roosevelt to the representatives of the first United Nations Conference (on Food and Agriculture, in 1943):

> "... It is to build for ourselves, for all men, a world in which each individual human being shall have the opportunity to live out his life in peace; to work productively, earning at least enough for his actual needs and those of his family; to associate with the friends of his choice; to think and worship freely; and to die secure in the knowledge that his children and their children, shall have the same opportunity."

We count on you, the National Association of Arab Americans, to act as a link; a cultural bridge, between the Arab World and the United States, to promote and articulate the vital interests of your country, the United States, in our part of the globe. You should acquaint and familiarize the great American public, which is world-known for its love and appreciation of justice and liberty, with our tangible hopes and aspirations, so as to obtain a settlement which preserves the dignity of man.

Thank you.